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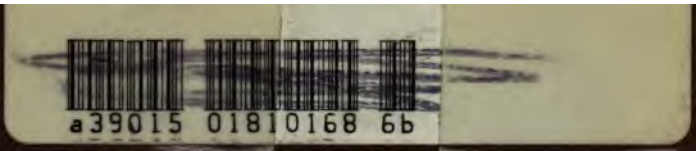
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NAPLES;

POLITICAL, SOCIAL,

AND

RELIGIOUS.

BY LORD B*******

AUTHOR OF "MASTERS AND WORKMEN," &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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NAPLES;

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS.

CHAPTER I.

Manners of the nobility—A Duke—Society—Women —Music Masters — Defect of female education— Country life of the Great.

THERE is little ceremony in Naples amongst men of the highest rank. The use of *thee* and *thou*, as terms of familiarity, is very common even amongst persons who are only slightly acquainted, and all address each other by their baptismal names, as Signor Federigo, Signora Maria, and so forth. As a sign of high respect, they use Don and Donna, probably derived from the Spaniards. They consider nothing improper which is not rude or indecent, and

ease and naïveté are characteristics of the best society. Liberality, unpretending civility, and good-natured sympathy, are common to the nobility throughout all Italy, but more especially in Naples and in Sicily.

A short time after our arrival, on entering the house of a man of high rank and distinction, we found the Duke in his shirt sleeves, occupied in unpacking and putting in order a variety of objects, which lay in confusion around him.

Without doubt, an English gentleman would have been both disconcerted and annoyed, had he been thus surprised, but this was not the case with the Neapolitan Duke; he gave us the kindest welcome, and invited us, like old friends, to assist him for a few moments, in the arrangements he was making. This done, he slipped on a light nankeen jacket, and then began, with the utmost zeal, vivacity, and politeness, to show us his picture gallery, and to explain the merits of the beautiful works it contained.

We were forcibly struck by the contrast of this reception, to the usual proud reserve with

which strangers are received in England and Germany, and even in France.

But whilst the Duke possessed the amiable qualities, which generally belong to his class, he was distinguished by others, but seldom found amongst any of his countrymen. He was a man of taste, a tolerable classic, knew something of the present state of the world, and of the history of ancient and modern Italy. Added to this, he made sonnets, and songs, and had been elected member of several academies, as one of the most charming living poets of his country.

But, in spite of his reputation, his questions soon convinced us that his knowledge was very superficial. He had very confused ideas of the northern countries, and thought that Great Britain was perpetually covered with ice and snow. He very gravely inquired, if we ever sowed or reaped there?

There are few assemblies in Naples which deserve the name of society. The only approach to the enlightened or gay circles which meet in the drawing-rooms of London and Paris, is in

parties called Academia, where the refreshment is entirely intellectual, and absolutely nothing is given to the guests, either to eat or drink, except a glass of ice water, or a couple of sugar-plums.

Each guest reads a sonnet, or a satire, of his own composition, which the ladies are expected to applaud; and such is the mania for sonnets, that we heard of a gentleman who composed three hundred and fifty sonnets on a dispute with his tailor about his bill, and compelled his friends to listen to them!

Sometimes, in these réunions, a young couple dance a national dance, to the music of a mandoline, or a crazy old piano, and occasionally a tragedy of Alfieri or Monti is read by the company in parts; and this last amusement is not without its charm.

But latterly, even these parties have become exceedingly rare, and gambling alone is still pursued with the keenest and most passionate devotion.

The parties at the houses of the nobility are little more than private gambling tables. There is no attention shown by the host to his guests

—no conversation. All press round the faro table—lose or win, and take their departure, without being noticed by any one. The only attraction which such assemblies can have for a foreigner, is the opportunity they afford him of observing the wild ebullitions of passion which, at these games of hazard, frequently end in savage and bloody scenes, although the Neapolitan nobility have, in general, no very delicate sense of honour.

We were once invited to dinner in the house of a man of high rank, which is here a rare occurrence, as almost all dislike any restraint during meals, and many people of noble birth are content to eat their simple dinner in a cool corner of their abode, without even the ceremony of a table-cloth. We arrived, as we supposed punctually, at twenty-three o'clock, and great was our astonishment to find the company already seated around the dinner table, and all the men in their shirt sleeves.

Nobody stirred, and a chair was offered us beside our hostess, whilst the utmost mirth was

occasioned by my unwillingness to lay aside my coat.

Doors and windows were all open, making an insupportable current of air through the room; yet there we sat, fanning ourselves and sighing out complaints against the heat, for nearly half-an hour, till servants in a splendid livery placed a plentiful dinner upon the table.

The charming simplicity and vivacity of the ladies present, enlivened the party. Though art and education have done little for the fair Neapolitans, nature has richly endowed them. Unaffected, trusting, and kind, they are at the same time gay, witty, and graceful; though usually mild, they are jealous to madness of the exclusive possession of a beloved object, and unforgiving when betrayed or deserted. But with all these attractions, it must be admitted, the women of Naples are far from good-looking. The same style of features which renders the men remarkably handsome, is coarse and disagreeable in the females. A pleasing expression, that expression which bespeaks a pure and

gentle soul, is commonly wanting. Probably, in consequence of something in the nature of the climate, they have, with few exceptions, bad teeth.

But though inferior in beauty to other Italian women, they surpass them in glowing passion, in natural sense and spirit, and a peculiar faculty of adapting themselves to every situation, and finding their way out of every difficulty.

From their early marriages, and sedentary habits of personal indulgence, they are speedily overtaken by premature old age. I have known those who, mothers at fourteen, were fat elderly ladies at forty, who in England would have been supposed to have arrived at their grand climacteric. Surrounded by their grand-children, and no longer objects for flattery or intrigue, the apathy and the vices of age replace the follies of their youth, and they become the slaves of superstition and sloth, at a time when the women of northern nations, in the full possession of their faculties, developed by education and experience, at the most active and useful period of their existence,

are hourly occupied in contributing to the honour and comfort of their families, or the education and welfare of their poor neighbours.

Music is a common accomplishment amongst the Neapolitan ladies, and they are said in general to have considerable natural talent for its acquirement, though their extreme idleness prevents them ever rising above mediocrity in the art. Small music-masters abound in the city, whose pay is about eight-pence a lesson, on which they have to maintain a family, and make an appearance something like a gentleman. I shall never forget the pale, melancholy face of one of these poor labourers in the sphere of harmony, who had a young wife and three children, when, in answer to an invitation in the house of one of my friends, to drink a glass of wine, he accepted it, adding with a sigh, that he usually drank nothing but water, having found by experience that it was much more invigorating for the stomach! and yet wine may be had wholesale for less than one penny a bottle. Poor Don Tomaso! my heart ached for him, even

more than for the fisherman with his half carline a day, whom no necessity compels to come in contact with the wealthy, nor to sacrifice to appearances.

The price of the most expensive masters is one piastre, or four shillings and two-pence, a lesson; but in drawing, the pianoforte, and every other accomplishment except singing, such instructors are chiefly foreigners, and rarely give lessons in any but foreign families, where they can be received with more confidence than the natives.

Italian parents have seldom the ambition that their daughters should excel in any art, and it would be considered a disgrace for a lady, under the pressure of misfortune, to make use of her talents or knowledge as a means of gaining a livelihood; the cheap masters of a very inferior class are therefore esteemed as quite adequate to the task of their instruction. The most precious years of female childhood are passed in acquiring a smattering of French, in learning to sing a few airs with an indifferent accompaniment on the

piano or guitar, and in embroidering virgins in silk, and other articles for the churches. Naturally imaginative and impassioned, as womanhood approaches, poetry adds fuel to the flame, and the sole accomplishment in which young ladies usually attain to any real excellence is the recitation of verses.

Nor is it only in externals that the education of females in the higher classes is deficient. Dress, pleasure, and intrigue are their only objects in life, and very slight discipline is necessary to give that polish and charm to the manner, which are necessary to success in such pursuits. The formation of the mind, and the strengthening of the moral feelings by sound principles and early moral instruction, are totally out of the question. Their only religion is a superstition that tends to deaden all other faculties, without encouraging either sympathy with their fellow-creatures, or requiring virtuous conduct as a proof of piety. The most bigotted women are neither better mothers nor more faithful wives; they are only the most exact ob-

servers of forms, and devoted slaves of the priests to the utmost point of obedience, often thus procuring the indulgence they require from their confessor for their intrigues. Idleness is their first besetting sin, and extends its baneful influence over their whole existence. The love of pleasure, encouraged by their instructors for their own purposes, follows next, till the passions, thus encouraged and cherished by luxury, usurp entire dominion, at an early age, over the daughters of the great.

In the middle classes matters are no better; a little music, reading, writing, and arithmetic constitute the highest point of their education; and many daughters of rich parents, who have been wilful in their childhood, are even incapable of reading their own language fluently, or writing it so as to be read. They are brought up in no habits of industry, cleanliness, and order, for their mothers are themselves incapable of giving them such instructions, and their pride and pretensions are generally so great, that they esteem it a degradation to make

themselves useful. They may perhaps be able to employ the needle, but it is rarely to be seen in their hands; and unmarried girls of thirteen or fourteen years of age, habitually lounge about their parents' house, generally with their hair in disorder, their shoes down at the heel, and their untidy persons enveloped in a dirty shawl till noon, absolutely doing nothing the whole day long, and never thinking of giving the slightest aid in the family arrangements, though one servant may form the whole of the establishment; and though the income of the family may barely suffice for their daily necessities, assistant workwomen are called in, not only to make, but even to repair the linen and clothes of the household.

The most noble palaces have a neglected and uninhabited air. The magnificent marble staircases are covered with filth, and when the lady of the house descends to her carriage, she must carefully guard her dress from touching them. On the first floor the entrance is an enormous servants' hall, with windows only to

be reached by a ladder, and which presents a revolting scene of dirt and confusion.

Here are servants, boiling and roasting, smoking, cleaning shoes and vegetables, and beating clothes, or scouring pans. Ushered from hence into the apartment of the host, the stranger finds no more order or cleanliness there than in the ante-chamber. Its furniture consists of a few ancient articles, chairs and tables without polish or cleanliness, and often with broken legs. No sofa, and no curtains. The paper often hangs tattered from the walls, and the rats have their dwelling behind the canvas; the floors most commonly are paved, never covered with a carpet, even in winter, and very rarely swept, and the yawning chimney, if a fire is ever made in it, allows more heat to ascend than ever comes into the room. The lady's rooms, where she receives her company, are not at all superior, and the whole desolate palace appears as if deserted by its owner.

Not so the dwellings prepared for the accommodation of the English. They are comfortably

furnished, and must be well paid for. Even the houses of Italians, who have much intercourse with strangers, have lost a great deal of their national character, and resemble French apartments.

But if the palaces are too vast in proportion to the fortunes of their proprietors, the dwellings of the poor are far too small; and though seldom inhabited during the day, it is no uncommon thing for half-a-dozen persons to occupy the same bed during the night, in the garrets of Naples.

The country houses of the wealthy, which are their favourite residences, possess many of those comforts and elegances which are wanting in the palaces of the city.

But though the Neapolitans of rank all visit the country during the summer, they have no real enjoyment of the beauties of nature, nor of those rural pursuits, which form the pleasure of English gentry.

The country life of a Neapolitan differs only from that of the city, in that he breathes another

air, and spends more money than he does in the town. Numerous parties, constant company, ruinous gambling, splendid dinners, and costly amusements, are what he brings with him, to beguile the time. Every thing, in fact, except what a country life ought to be.

They detest the idea of agriculture, and will pay no attention to the proper culture of their own estates, which they confide to agents, by whom they are usually most fearfully imposed upon.

War and peace, internal disturbances, the want of markets, and the want of roads, have also a depressing effect upon agriculture. The perpetual change of the laws and regulations of the corn market are so perplexing, that there can be no confidence. But nothing, perhaps, has a more evil influence on the country, than the heavy debts of the aristocracy. The nobility are in general too idle or too proud to devote themselves to any profession by which money may be obtained; and yet, jealous of the wealth of other classes, they continue to rival them in appearance, by drawing largely on their capital. The end of

such proceedings must be the utter ruin of the class.

The laws concerning loans and mortgage are so imperfect and unjust, that all proceedings against a debtor are attended with great difficulty, and all lawsuits in Naples are so tedious, that most people are unwilling to advance money on landed security.

In general, such an enormous interest is demanded for loans, that no employment of the money would bring sufficient profit to cover it.

The sale of the domains of many suppressed convents, the breaking of long entails, and relief from burthensome mortgages, have been of some advantage to the country, and have, in certain districts, from time to time excited an unusual activity in agriculture ; but it has rarely been attended with any lasting, or beneficial results.

Capital is not abundant, nor industry the character of the people ; knowledge also is wanting ; and undertakings, such as clearing forests, and bringing fresh land into cultivation, which at first appeared most promising, have generally,

after a few years, turned out complete failures. It has even been found expedient to prevent the destruction of the mountain forests by a special law; and all which are private property, are now placed under the care and direction of the government and its officers.

Thus, the same meddling which dictates to the opinions and the conscience, extends to a man's private property, the cultivation or the planting of which he is not left free to direct as he judges best for his own advantage, but must do as he is commanded by the state.

As is naturally to be expected, such laws concerning agriculture are acknowledged not to have produced any good result; and have only afforded a crowd of government officers an opportunity to exercise the most fearful abuses in this, as in every other department of the state.

Large tracts of land are also possessed by the government, particularly in Apulia, where an immense plain is devoted to the grazing of cattle. The French decreed that it should be let out, with full liberty to the tenants to cultivate it as

they pleased, and to become purchasers, if they were able. But all this was repealed on the return of the Bourbons. No liberty of purchase was allowed, and cultivation, except as meadow, was forbidden. Great misery followed, and various laws have been made, where all should be free; so that a rich country becomes a source of misery to its over-governed inhabitants.

CHAPTER II.

A dying beggar—Ignorance and education—Law; its abuses — Pictures — Royal oppression of the arts— Chapel of St. Severo; its statues.

As we one day passed the open portico of a public building near the end of the Toledo, we perceived a poor woman lying in the shade, upon a heap of the leaves of the Indian corn. She was almost without covering, and evidently dying, though a new-born child hung at her breast, and cried in a feeble, piteous tone.

A boy of three years old stood near the mother, holding out his little hand for charity. But none of those who passed by paid any attention, either to him or the dying woman.

"Poor creature!" exclaimed some one from time to time, and then hurried on their way. "The woman is dying," murmured others in the crowd which gathered round us where we stood, but no one offered to help her. It was very hot, and they were probably afraid of the trouble—no Neapolitan likes trouble.

But the wretched creature did not hear their exclamations—she had died soon after we approached her; and the only assistance we could render, was to close her eyes, to take the children away, and give them, with a piece of gold, to the porter of a neighbouring hospital for the poor.

"God bless all foreigners!" exclaimed the crowd of poor wretches who surrounded us; but the indifference which had previously been shown, both by rich and poor, to the sufferings of the dead, left a very painful impression on our minds.

We can only suppose that the wealthy are so accustomed to selfish enjoyments, and their feelings are so deadened by the frequent spec-

tacle of misery, that they derive no pleasure from the act of relieving it; whilst the poor are hardened by a perpetual struggle with suffering and deprivation.

Naples does indeed present a most extraordinary mixture of half-savage barbarity and of refined civilization, of luxury and deprivation, of misery and splendour.

One part of the population appears sunk in all the ignorance and superstition of the thirteenth century; another is the slave of appearances, and imitates, with exaggeration, all the last Parisian fashions. One quarter of the town seems externally to rival London in the comfort and elegance of its dwellings; whilst in another, the huge gloomy palaces of an impoverished nobility, retain all the characteristics of feudal times.

But yet more extraordinary are the habits and observances derived from ancient heathen times, which are still in activity, and the Roman superstitions, mingling with more modern Roman Catholic rites. To a traveller versed in the

history of antiquity, some points of resemblance between the ancient and modern inhabitants of the kingdom of Naples are perfectly startling. Even when the dissolute morals, and the love of idleness, and careless enjoyment of the present dwellers in the city, are compared with the recorded history of Baia and its environs, it appears as if the character of the inhabitants of this beautiful region had been at every period the same.

The climate, no doubt, has much to do with this, and has probably produced lasting effects on the physical organization of the people; neither have changes been produced by frequent intercourse or inter-marriage with foreign nations. Their sailors seldom go beyond their own shores, and their trade is generally carried on in the ships of France and Genoa, so that this source of instruction has not been opened to the lower orders, and they are scarcely aware that anything differing from Naples exists in the world. Neither has that, which is commonly called education, as yet done anything for them. Even

in the families of the great, the commonest instruction is so much neglected, that numbers of young nobility have not even learnt their mother tongue, and are only able to converse in the rude and disagreeable dialect of the lazzaroni.

King Ferdinand the Second, during his whole life, only spoke this truly barbarous and vulgar language; and his example was followed by all the nobility of his kingdom.

During the first temporary banishment of the Jesuits, the educational institutions of the country, though entirely in the hands of the clergy, were of the most miserable description. The Professors, still bewildered by the philosophy of Aristotle, continued to teach something about grammar, rhetoric, and mathematics, which neither they nor their pupils understood; and most young men, not destined for official appointments, were left without even this miserable instruction, and even sons of the nobility still frequently grow up totally without culture, and are left to pass their time amongst their fathers' servants, or with some poor dependent priest,

who receives board and lodging in payment for teaching the children of the family to read and write. But advantage is frequently taken by clerical instructors to undermine the principles of their pupils, and to engage their minds in the pursuit of pleasure instead of knowledge, so that they may pay no attention to politics or morals. Numbers thus become, even in early life, the ruined slaves of debauchery,—incapable either of mental or bodily exertion. By inspiring the conscientious with timid fears of a world they have ill-prepared them to encounter, they deter them from enlarging their minds by a salutary and intellectual intercourse with strangers, or from extending their sphere of knowledge by foreign travel.

Where nature has bestowed on a Neapolitan talents of a high order, and a moral energy neither to be ruined nor depressed by the vile influence of his instructors, such qualities can be productive of nothing but misfortune to their possessor. He sees the melancholy state of his country, and the errors and vices of the govern-

ment and the professors of religion, by which its degradation is occasioned, and he becomes a liberal. If by words or writing he dares openly to express his sentiments, or ventures to oppose the tyranny which crushes all noble aspirations, every effort of genius, and all honest attempts to ameliorate the sufferings and errors of society, he is immediately a suspected subject. Spies are ever at his heels; he soon incurs the open displeasure of the government, and if he has the hardihood to dispute its commands, he is banished or imprisoned for life.

Even when talent is employed simply for the public benefit, in useful inventions or literary research, it finds neither encouragement nor protection. If an ingenious inventor of a new machine, or an active speculator, who has purchased some foreign discovery, seeks the brief protection of a patent, he only involves himself in endless lawsuits, which will probably leave him a ruined man. However exact his contract may be worded, it is almost impossible, with the utmost caution, to elude the chicanery

trickery, and falsehoods of the parties with whom he has to deal. All literary works are subjected to the severest censorship, to obtain which requires endless application; and no work of education is allowed to be printed which is not written by a priest.

Cuoco, one of the most distinguished of the modern Neapolitan writers, has said, "the disorder of civil jurisprudence produces in the South of Italy more melancholy effects than in any other part of Europe. The Neapolitans have always been, and are, too fond of litigation and strife. Naturally acute, they easily take advantage of any inadvertence of the legislator. This natural characteristic renders them cavilling and fraudulent." It is a vain hope for any stranger to expect justice in such a country. All institutions, originally meant for the welfare of society, though maintained with much pomp of appearance, have sunk into a mere name. Bribery and corruption make themselves every where felt. Even justice is corrupted, and all its ministers are under the influence of money or authority.

Its abuses are most flagrant, as we shall prove in another chapter, and we were ourselves witnesses of the indecent carelessness with which business is conducted in the high tribunals. No one thinks it worth while to listen to the pleadings of the barristers; the judges sit playing with their fans, and pronounce judgment with a yawn. They know that their decision is of little importance, as it may have to pass through ten other courts of appeal.

Yet almost every written contract is made a subject of legal dispute, and as more than four thousand lawyers find support in Naples, it may well be supposed that not only the people have a passion for litigation, but that the laws themselves are bad.

We passed up a broad, but dirty staircase, and through a spacious antechamber, when we visited the Hall of Justice, in the ancient palace of the Vicaria. The noise in the court was deafening, and the pushing, struggling and pressing, such as we had seldom encountered. The faces around us were convulsed by various passions.

On one we could read the triumph of victory, on another the sense of injustice; one spoke of hope, another of despair, and it was impossible not to feel that this place, where redress of grievances was sought, was a sink of chicanery, iniquity, and corruption.

The sittings of the Tribunals are partly accessible to the public. The speeches of the advocates are made with open doors. Most of these men possess the natural Neapolitan eloquence; but it is here exerted in vain, for the judges never listen to them.

In the surrounding halls, the scene of confusion surpasses description. From two to three thousand lawyers of different grades, and twice as many clients, assemble here every morning. The lawyers of least consideration surround the four hundred of the highest rank, pay them the humblest court, kiss their hands, and flatter them obsequiously; these strut pompously through the crowd, which gives way before them, scattering here and there a word of blame or praise, of encouragement or denial.

Perfectly disgusted, we hastened from this sad palace, whose foundation is prisons, and where chicanery, bribery, and corruption daily add to the sufferings of mankind.

There is a Royal Academy of Art in Naples, under the direction of a Signor W——; but so imperfect is the instruction there given, and so great the license permitted to exist amongst the pupils, that we heard more than one distinguished artist speak with horror and detestation of the idea of sending their sons to pursue their studies in a place where little, except evil, could be learnt.

There is likewise an annual exhibition of pictures, where works of some merit are occasionally to be met with; but it cannot be wondered at that they are rare, when it is known that the king not only assumes the right of selecting every picture for himself, which pleases his taste, but also fixes the price he has to pay for them. This rarely amounts to half their real worth; and more frequently falls far beneath such a miserable remuneration.

Nor are the painters compelled to submit in silence only to the spoliations of their royal master; but they are likewise frequently obliged to make a present to the ministers, should their work have met with royal approbation, in order to show their sense of the honour that has been done them, and to secure the future protection of the court. In fact, nothing goes forward in Naples, in camp, court or city, without a bribe to a minister, a confessor, a mistress or a cook. Every man is to be bought, from the highest to the lowest.

No artist, for a long series of years, had the courage to resist this flagrant injustice, and the walls of the royal palace were gradually adorned by the best works of poor and struggling genius which had thus been robbed of its due remuneration. All feared to incur the royal displeasure, all dreaded persecution, imprisonment, or banishment, if they ventured to demand the full value for their pictures; and the best artists, to avoid the danger of paying such a tax, ceased to send their works to the exhibition. They

preferred depending for the just payment of their works, and the liberal encouragement due to their genius, on the strangers who visit their ateliers in private, rather than on any public appeal to the patronage of their king and their countrymen.

But still the public exhibition afforded the only means by which young artists, at the commencement of their career, could make their talents known, and we could mention several, now distinguished painters, who, after years of toil, have, in the hour of necessity, seen works on which they had built the brightest hopes, thus snatched from them for a miserable payment, not amounting to a quarter of their value.

At length, at a recent exhibition, a young artist, whose name we shall suppress, a man of calm and gentle character, from whom no one expected an act of such audacity, refused to submit to the dictates of royalty.

He had painted a picture of the death of Socrates, which excited universal admiration in the city, and the price he expected for it was

considerable. But for his misfortune it pleased the king as well as the public, and he was speedily informed it was selected for the palace, and that he would be paid a sum for it, which did not amount to one third of what was considered its real value.

He immediately signified his discontent, but he obtained no answer. After a brief lapse of time, he waited on the minister in person, and was then informed that his picture already occupied a distinguished place on the walls of the royal residence. The painter, unshaken in his resolution, still insisted on its being returned to him unless he was paid by his Majesty the same price which he could obtain from another purchaser.

The minister, probably astonished by such unusual audacity, replied, that if this were his final decision, he must signify it in writing, as he should otherwise refuse to carry such a message to his royal master.

The artist, to the surprise of all present, without hesitation took a pen in hand, and wrote—"I refuse to sell my picture for one-third of its

value—and demand that it be returned to me."

All hope of rising in his profession was necessarily destroyed by such an act, and he was obliged, immediately afterwards, to quit the country. Though all admired, none have since dared to imitate his conduct.

Nor is the meddling of the government confined to modern art. No picture, whether ancient or modern, can be removed from one town to another, even within the kingdom of Naples, without a permission from the crown; and, of course, to export is equally difficult, and frequently impossible.

Amongst the marvels of Naples, we had frequently heard of three statues belonging to the Prince of St. Severo, and proceeded in search of them through the narrow, ancient streets leading between the Toledo and the sea. The passage is one of difficulty, as in many places the wheels of our carriage actually touched the walls of the gloomy old palaces, and miserable houses, where the open porches frequently afforded a view, as we

passed, of low arched and dreary courts and halls, where the very lowest of the people find wretched dwellings, amidst dirt and ruin. The foot-passengers appeared astonished to see a carriage in such a neighbourhood, and ran back into the dark shops, or passages, to escape being crushed by its wheels.

At length, we arrived at an open square, surrounded by picturesque buildings, one of which, although ruined and deserted, we believed to be the Palace we sought, and there alighting, we determined to pursue our progress on foot. A young priest, with much politeness, in answer to our enquiries, directed us up a narrow lane, encumbered by every kind of filth, though lofty buildings arose on all sides, which, even in their desolation, bore indisputable traces of having once been the dwellings of the great. Here we again asked for the chapel of St. Severo, and an old woman spinning with a distaff, pointed out to us the shop of an umbrella maker, who kept the key. This was, after sundry difficulties and delays, at length obtained, and we were ushered

into the holy edifice, known also by the appellation of Santa Maria della Pieta.

It was a large, gloomy building, which had evidently once been magnificent; but poverty had stricken the family of its possessors, and much of the rich marble which had once encrusted its pavements and walls, in splendid profusion, had been torn down and probably sold, whilst the ravages of an earthquake, which had rent the building on one side from top to bottom, had been only rudely repaired by miserable unplastered brick-work. An utter ruin would be a less melancholy spectacle, than this forsaken temple, where the tombs of the founders were the only objects that remained in a tolerable state of preservation.

The three statues which we went thither to visit, are very remarkable works of the middle ages, less admirable for the beauties of form and conception, than for their extraordinary execution. One represents a Prince of the family of St. Severo as a warrior breaking through a net, which, though executed in one piece of marble

scarcely touches the figure with its meshes, the folds and cordage of which, are chiselled with marvellous exactitude. The second is a portrait of the wife of this warrior, veiled from head to foot, in the character of Modesty; and though the figure is somewhat too plump to be graceful, the execution of the thin gauze that covers it is perfect. The third of these curious works is a dead Christ; a transparent covering is cast over the recumbent figure, so as to display the anatomy of the body beneath, in a manner the most wonderful. The sculptor Corradini of Venice, executed the first, and invented the last of these works: the warrior is the work of Queiroto. Though they are wanting in the high and spiritual beauties of antique sculpture, they have ever been greatly estimated for their execution, and a very large sum was recently offered for them by an English nobleman, which the proprietor would gladly have accepted. But though the family of St. Severo has fallen into poverty, and this money was of real importance to the Prince, the King refused to give him permission to remove

the statues from the kingdom. The nobleman justly replied, that if his Majesty denied him the liberty of disposing of this valuable property, he ought at least himself to become the purchaser. But to this proposition no attention was paid ; the statues still remain in the half-ruined chapel, and the debts of the family are undiminished.

This is one of many facts that prove, in the kingdom of Naples, a man cannot do what he likes with his own.

CHAPTER III.

Influence of Confessors — Father C——: his cook— Crimes of the Clergy—The army feared by the people —The Swiss troops — The Censorship — Tyranny —The Police—Spies—Peculations.

A FOREIGNER must reside long in Naples, and be intimately acquainted with its people, before he can fully understand how completely their religion forms part of their existence, and how entirely the affairs of most families are under the influence of the priests. A father confessor is looked upon as an immaculate person, who is believed, by the women at least, to know everything much better than anybody else. Liberties which no other man would be permitted to take, are considered in him as innocent testimonies of

holy affection. It is needless to say how often such familiarity leads to evil results.

In money concerns he is omnipotent with the old and infirm; and no further evidence of the truth of this assertion is wanting, than the enormous legacies which are every year bequeathed to the church, even to the injury of legal heirs.

Father C——, the confessor of a noble personage, is well known to be omnipotent at court. He has enjoined that a rosary (as a certain number of prayers is called) should be said there every evening, that he may keep up a frequent intercourse, and thus have constant opportunities of exercising his influence. Yet it is reported in the city, that for years Father C——, in turn, was governed by his cook, a Capuchin friar, wonderfully skilled in the culinary art, and above all in the preparation of certain highly-seasoned minces and soft foods for the worthy confessor, who had lost his teeth.

Considerable sums have, it is said, been paid to this priest cook for exerting his influence with his master, in favour of those who had some

object to obtain at court, and he was always ready to receive the applications and the presents of all who were desirous of his friendly aid.

But alas! the brightest tide of prosperity must have an end. Father C—— recently retired to pay his annual visit to his monastery. It might be to pray, but it certainly was not to fast; for his favourite cook accompanied him into seclusion, to be ready, at all times, to prepare those dishes for his master, the mysteries of which were understood by himself alone. He appears in his turn to have partaken of the good cheer of the refectory with a some what too voracious appetite, for a few days after his arrival, in the middle of a merry supper with the fraternity, a piece of ham stuck in his throat. More unfortunate than Hunchback in the Arabian Nights, it proved impossible to extract the unfortunate morsel, and the poor cook, who had probably sacrificed a whole herd of swine in his vocation, at length fell a victim to a morsel of pig's flesh.

It is said Father C—— has found consi-

derable difficulty in replacing this precious servant by another of the same fraternity, as it appears a monk who is authorized to perform mass, is not permitted to pollute his hands by the services of the kitchen.

It were well if the activity of the clergy were never exercised to worse effect; but, in spite of their profession and their vows, there is no doubt that in almost every walk of life, their influence, in one way or another, makes itself to be felt. Numerous were the anecdotes we were told of their laxity of morals, and of the petty sins by which hundreds in holy garments are hourly undermining the morals of society. But there is one story of this character current in Naples of the very blackest dye. It regards the abduction of a girl from the Orphan Asylum or Hospital of the Annunciata by a priest employed in this establishment, who, after a severe investigation of the affair, alone escaped the proper punishment of his diabolical crime, by the protection and favour of his friends in power. The details of this adventure are too horrible to be

inserted here, but they are commonly known in Naples. They have even been made the subject of a romance; and though the work was immediately suppressed, and the author thrown into prison, the indignant feelings excited by such conduct are not to be thus easily obliterated from the public mind.

Though it is well known that the Neapolitans are ardently attached to the Roman Catholic religion, and all the bigotted observances and superstitions incorporated with the true faith in this southern and benighted region, and lax or even liberal opinions on such subjects are exceedingly rare, yet the bad conduct of the clergy has taught the people to divide them from the religion they profess, and produced amongst the male population a very general contempt for their persons, and an impatience of their enormous extortions and ever-increasing power. By a new enactment, though a priest may be tried by the civil tribunals, the sentence passed on him by these courts, whatever it may be, cannot be carried into execution till confirmed by a

council of bishops; which amounts almost to the exemption of the clergy from the just punishment of all crimes, except high treason real or imputed. Nor is the existing government desirous of any reform in the church. Where an authority, like that in Naples, is grounded on human ignorance, superstition, weakness, and crime, it is not for its interest, that the priesthood should be of a character either to enlighten or elevate the moral character of its subjects.

Neither is there any hope of the press producing any amelioration. On the return of King Ferdinand from Laybach, so heavy a tax was added to the censorship on books, that their importation from foreign countries was entirely prevented. The booksellers were nearly ruined, and, anxious to relieve themselves from such a burthen, represented to the minister, the Marquis of Medici, the injury done to the finances by this interruption of trade, at the same time praying for an abolition of the duty. To this he coolly replied, that it was not his object

to benefit the finances, but to insure the ignorance of the people.

The same system is still pursued, and the avarice of the present sovereign has added new miseries to those already endured by the people under former reigns. No means, however paltry, are left undone to obtain money. The customs are let at an enormous rate, and are consequently exacted with an odious severity; and, together with the general taxes, are calculated to abstract sixty per cent. annually from the property of the kingdom.

Yet the petty officers of government are so miserably paid, that their paltry salaries are scarcely sufficient to procure the necessaries of life; and they are compelled to resort to every species of peculation and fraud in their several departments, to maintain a decent appearance. It is said, that when a remonstrance was once made to his majesty on this subject, his only reply was, that if he paid them better they would still cheat in their vocation, and that he therefore preferred losing his money in one manner alone.

During former reigns, especially in the time of Murat, numbers of the poor were hired to work on the roads, and in other public works; but now, in a country where manufactories give little occupation, even this forlorn hope is taken from the half-famished population, and the soldiers are employed to make the government railroads, and other national improvements of the kind.

In fact, though the army is well known to be the hobby of the king, it is a hobby which has made him many enemies; for an ill-judged economy has extended its evil influence even to the ranks. The general spirit of peculation likewise here prevails. It is true, of his small pay, (about two-pence farthing a day,) the soldier cannot be deprived, but it is commonly reported, that in several regiments a certain allowance for accoutrements, &c. has been for a time, and in some cases, entirely withheld by the commanding officers. But though means were found to escape the reprehension of the government for such miserable spoliation, the men did

not patiently submit. Three cases have recently occurred, of officers being shot by their own soldiers, and in one instance it was well known, that the assassin sought to punish the robbery of his regiment, for which there was no other means of obtaining redress.

Yet the soldiers in their turn, are an oppressive burthen on the people. Since our arrival here, a party of dragoons stopped for refreshment at a small inn on the road towards Beneventum. But instead of proving good customers to the poor landlord, whose whole fortune was invested in his little stock of provisions for man and beast, they not only refused to pay for their own good cheer and the provender consumed by their horses, but carried off with them all the corn and hay that remained. Vainly did the wretched man they thus robbed, go lamenting from house to house. In his own neighbourhood there was no redress to be found; to make his complaint in form, he must travel to Naples, and when he arrives there, there is little probability that any attention will be paid to the

prayer of one who has neither friends at court, nor money to purchase them. There is neither security nor justice for the poor, and the magistrates, who ought to be their protectors, only add to their miseries by their petty and tormenting tyranny.

It is one of the favourite royal pastimes to perform a species of mock campaign, during which his majesty shares in all the fatigues of his men, marches at their head through the dust and the heat, and bears a part in all their hardships and difficulties. His orders for their supply and accommodation are most imperative. During one of these recent marches, a command was sent forward to the proper authorities of a small town, to provide the forage necessary for the horses of the cavalry. By some mistake, or perhaps from the impossibility of fulfilling this order before the time specified, nothing of the kind was ready when the army arrived. His majesty's anger, it is said, knew no bounds, and he immediately commanded the principal municipal officer, who was the person respon-

sible, to be shot without trial, or further investigation.

The agony of this poor man, who was married and had several children, surpassed all description, and though his pardon was obtained by the generous intercession of the general to whom the task of superintending his execution was committed, he died of apoplexy in consequence of his terror.

The people in the country now universally shut up their houses, and take to flight when they hear of the approach of soldiers. But the Swiss troops in the employment of the government, are especially dreaded and abhorred; particularly since the revolution in 1848, when, by the command of the king, they shed the blood of his people without respect either for sex or age.

The pay of these foreigners doubles that of the soldiers of the line, which is a great cause of jealousy to the native troops; and excites so much bad feeling amongst the latter, that their fidelity can be little counted upon, in case of further popular commotions.

The king and his clerical advisers, aware of the influence of the press, have taken care to shackle it in such a manner, that neither the errors or faults of the government, nor the crimes of individuals, nay, not even judicial proceedings, are allowed to be made known to the public, and subjected to their judgment.

Everything is done in secret. The most flagrant enormities are committed under the veil of mystery, from which, should a word of truth escape, it is stifled as quickly as possible. The severity of the censorship is sufficient to account for the entire want of a modern national literature in Naples. Every writer, from the historian to the novelist, who dares to proclaim the secret of public abuses, or to expose the vices of the priesthood, who pervert the best institutions of the country, in order to corrupt the morals and perpetuate the slavery of their disciples — every writer who ventures to approach the truth, either in politics or history, or religion, is immediately imprisoned,

and his work seized, and forbidden to be read, under pain of heavy penalties.

Can it therefore be wondered at, if men of abilities cease to write, and instead of complaining of their wrongs, secretly conspire to redress them?

But their numbers are too small; the power of church and state, which crushes them, is too strong and inexorable for their unaided efforts, to be successful; and the end of all the struggles of the best minds in Naples, to assist the rational progress of their country, has hitherto only been to throng the dungeons with fresh captives, and to stain the hands of the executioner with the blood of the noblest and most enlightened citizens.

The existing government is, in fact, almost entirely supported by abuses, which, like an insidious disease, have corrupted the healthy activity of the whole social system. The vast idleness and rapacity of the monastic establishments, the corrupt administration of all public charities, the multitudes of paid officials, and

petty lawyers, the common war of deception and cheating, which society wages against itself, the ignorance, superstition, extreme poverty, and few wants of the people, are the real supporters of the present despotism. The government therefore seeks in every way to aggravate these social evils, instead of correcting them. The power of the king is supreme, and he exerts it only for the maintenance and aggrandizement of his own authority, the collecting of taxes, the support of the Catholic church and the suppression of knowledge.

The noblest inhabitants of the two Sicilies could not obtain permission to visit the Exhibition in the Crystal Palace of Hyde Park in 1851. We knew Neapolitan noblemen, who, though travelling in Germany at that time, were forbidden to enter England, and durst not disobey, for they could not hope to escape the vigilance of their government, or the punishment which would await them on their return home, for such an act of insubordination.

Yet in every office under government, pecu-

lation far exceeds the salary, and the hire, though small, is not increased, because it is asserted that if officials were paid more, they would not steal less.

The police is the only really vigorous department of the government. The power to persecute and imprison, was never exercised, both by church and state, with more heartless and eager severity.

One consequence of such a system, is, that society of every shade and class is universally infested with spies. They haunt the theatres, the coffee-houses, and the promenades; they insinuate themselves, in every disguise, into the houses of rich and poor. The servant who waits at your table, the artist who gives your children lessons, are frequently both spies; spies tempt youth in its ardour to pour out its indignant feelings, that they may profit by its punishment; they form infamous intrigues, that they may draw from the lips of the wife the secrets of her unsuspecting husband; they have tickets free, at all times, for every place of

public amusement; and under the title of nobility, penetrate into *réunions* the most select.

The connexion of this abominable class with the police, affords its members immunity for numerous crimes; but in no way are they more dangerous, or less suspected by strangers, than as masters of lodging-houses, when, with the assistance of their servants, they keep the closest watch upon their tenants.

We had reason to know that in one apartment, the landlord of which, styling himself a Count, was in the service of the police, every word uttered by his lodgers was reported to him by his domestic, who, fawning and specious, might well have been mistaken for one of the most honest and simple of human beings.

Books, papers, and every object in the apartment were daily examined, during the absence of its occupants, who found it expedient most carefully to conceal their manuscripts. Even in cases of most daring robbery, the conductors of lodging-houses, when connected with the police, are exempt from all fear of punishment.

Nor is it only these miserable spies who escape all responsibility for crime, in virtue of their connexion with the government. Peculation and fraud and falsehood pervade every branch of the state, and in all the great public charities the results of this system of plunder are terrible.

The hospitals for the sick and the poor are innumerable, but so mismanaged, that all who enter them are regarded by their relatives as already dead. There are countless asylums for orphans, and all these are under the direction and management of the priests. No one investigates the abuses which are there practised, no one can expose to the public, or obtain the smallest redress, for the plunder and iniquities which, under the mask of authority and religion, are perpetrated in these houses of charity. The sick are neglected, and half the children die from insufficient nourishment.

A story was related to us of a priest, who was the superintendent of an orphan asylum in a country town, who, instead of supplying

wet nurses to the infants, at the expense of the funds of the charity, actually substituted one goat to suckle four children, and appropriated the surplus money to his own use.

In the Seraglio, an enormous building, in which are lodged more than two thousand vagrants and destitute poor, young and old, starvation and despair produced, towards the end of the year 1843, an insurrection amongst its wretched inhabitants. The complaints of the sufferers at length reached the king's ears, in consequence of which, something like an investigation was instituted.

This led to the discovery that 120,000 piastres, or about 24,000 pounds, were deficient in the funds of this Charity. A committee was in consequence appointed to search into the whole affair, the president of which was the Prime Minister, De Angelis. When we add that his brother was the director of the Seraglio, under whose authority the abuses complained of had occurred, it will readily be supposed that the investigation lasted many years, and that

neither justice, nor restitution, nor amendment were to be expected.

One day in the year this giant poor-house and the Hospital of the Annonciata are thrown open for public visitation; and on these occasions everything is arranged so as to conceal the actual state of the establishments. But in spite of all possible deception, it is now well known that horrors are perpetrated within the walls of both these miscalled charitable institutions, and sufferings endured by their wretched inmates, which appear to be impossible in a civilized country, and in establishments which are under the immediate care and supervision of a professedly Christian clergy.

CHAPTER IV.

Literature; does not exist at present—Impediments to publishing—Colletta imprisoned in St. Elmo—Cuoco—Ranieri—the orphan of the Annonciata.

HAVING now concluded our slight sketches of the impressions made upon us by the external appearances of the city of Naples, and its inhabitants, we had intended to give a brief notice of its literature; but that notice must be very brief, for the information which we could obtain on this subject was very limited, since the existing censorship is so severe, that no books are now published in this kingdom, which can lay claim to such a name.

The writer of the smallest pamphlet on the most harmless subject, has to pass through a perfect labyrinth of difficulties before he can bring his work to the press. Revisions and permits without number must be obtained. The first step is a petition from the author to a certain Junta, to appoint a revisor of his book. Then follows a letter of the Secretary to the government revisor; next comes the criticism of the work by the revisor, in which he must assure the Censorship, that he has carefully perused the manuscript, and has discovered nothing in it either contrary to the prescriptions of the Holy Church, or to the sovereign, and conclude with a compliment to the author. From all which, he draws the conclusion that the book may have the honour of being printed, if their Reverend Excellences (the Censors) have no objection.

In answer to this, there appears an answer from the President of the Junta for public instruction, who, in consideration of the petition —in consideration of the favourable revison—in consideration of the learning, &c. &c., gives

permission that the said manuscript shall be printed.

But the affair is not yet ended. A second permission must be obtained, after it is printed, before it can be published, as the King's revisor must distinctly ascertain that the manuscript and the printed work are precisely the same.

A German schoolmaster, established at Naples some years ago, wrote some work on grammar, which he wished to publish. For weeks he was sent from one public office to another, in quest of the necessary permission, till at last, after much fatigue, trouble, and loss of time, he was informed that his application was useless, as no work on education was allowed to be published, unless written by priests!

How these affairs are regulated since the Jesuits have the supreme direction of education, we have not been able to learn; but as no doubt the censorship is also in their hands, we may venture to suppose that its severity is not relaxed, and that the system which was practised when we were in Naples, no long time ago, is to this day in full activity.

If its object is to prevent the multiplication of books, it certainly produces the desired effect, for few authors have the courage to pass through so disagreeable an ordeal.

Nor is it the works of the present day alone, with which the Censorship interferes. The number of ancient and valuable books of which it forbids the circulation, is very great; and no book of any value has been written during the last thirty-five years, which has not been suppressed.

The works of Colletta and Cuoco, two modern Neapolitan historians, are both forbidden to be sold or read; and though they were procured for us by a friend in the city, it was with considerable difficulty; and we were warned, when they were delivered into our possession, to keep them carefully under lock and key.

The history of Colletta commences with the beginning of the eighteenth century and ends with the year 1825, A.D. It is an admirable work, written by a statesman who acted a part, or was a witness of many of the most important

transactions he recounts, in the portion of the work relating to the present century.

It is vigorously, clearly, and concisely written; displays great knowledge and noble principles; and would hold a high place in the literature of any other country but Naples; being not only the production of a highly cultivated and powerful mind, but of a man largely acquainted with mankind, whose talents and learning had been rendered practical, and whose judgment had been strengthened by habits of activity, and an extensive intercourse with society. Few writings, it is said, bear so strongly the impression of the author's mind, as the History of Colletta. There may be traced the thoughts of his whole life; his disappointed hopes; his lofty designs; and indomitable attachment to all that is noble and excellent in human nature and human institutions. To write, was with him to act—to act for the benefit of Italy, freed from all the vile obstacles which, whilst he had filled public employments, had prevented him governing according to his liberal judgment.

[redacted] a work escaped from his pen, that does not bear the impress of the truth: many of which [redacted] every day [redacted] confirmed, by all the [redacted] around us at the present day; and [redacted] so many of the abuses and errors of [redacted] which have contributed to the [redacted] and degradation of his country. [redacted] is now surprising the work is forbidden. [redacted] closely examined, it is read and [redacted] by a thinking and enlightened men [redacted] by whom it can be [redacted].

[redacted] in any under King Fer- [redacted] not the [redacted] created during [redacted] over the country. Colletta [redacted] during the reign of [redacted] the roads and [redacted].

[redacted] he held this office, he [redacted] formed yet [redacted] made a Coun- [redacted] a part in the [redacted] finally made

the best terms for Murat and for Naples, which their position and the times permitted.

During the transient existence of the new constitution, which Ferdinand swore (A.D. 1824) to observe, Colletta was created Minister of War; but when the faithless tyrant returned from Laybach the following year, to renounce his promises under German protection, the General was one of the first victims to his vengeance.

After a three months' imprisonment in the Castle of St. Elmo, he was conducted by an Austrian guard to Brunn in Moravia. The severity of the climate, the calumnies of the government and a painful sense of banishment from his unfortunate country, slowly undermined his health, till in A.D. 1823, after an absence of two years from Italy, he obtained permission to remove to Florence.

There, to soften the pains of exile, he commenced his admirable history; and such was the soothing influence of this literary labour, that he frequently returned thanks to heaven for the idea of composing it, and prayed to be permitted

to live to finish it, and witness its publication, though well aware of the danger attending the accomplishment of his wishes.

He remained almost poor, although he had filled so many distinguished offices; but though compelled to live with the utmost parsimony, he was contented with mediocrity; and the affection and reverence of the virtuous recompensed him for years of trial.

He died at Florence, A.D. 1831, having completed his history, which remains an indisputable evidence of his ability and desire to serve his beloved country, from whence his noble qualities had alone caused his banishment.

The works of Cuoco are less calculated to become generally popular, being rather philosophical disquisitions on the laws, politics, and public events of his time and country, than a regular narrative of facts; nevertheless the history of his own time, in Naples, contains many remarkable passages, and bears ample testimony to the want of faith, the cruelty, and the weakness of the government during the reign of

Ferdinand. The whole is a dark page in the chronicles of mankind.

The productions of many of our English novelists are translated into Italian, and sold without obstacle on the part of the censors; but the *Mystères de Paris* is strictly forbidden. Yet a month after its publication, it was in all the circulating libraries where any one known by the librarians could readily obtain it.

We had more difficulty in procuring a new Neapolitan work, printed without the name of author or publisher, and suppressed almost immediately after its publication. This is a novel called the Orphan of the Annonciata, and now known to have been written by a young man named Ranieri, who was thrown into prison as soon as this discovery was made. It is the narrative of a poor girl brought up in the orphan asylum from her earliest infancy, supposed to be related by herself. Its real object is to make known to the public the frightful abuses perpetrated within the walls of this ostensibly charitable establishment, and to give the true and

exact particulars of a crime the most appalling, committed not long ago by a priest connected with it, and to whose care the education of the girls was partly confided.

It is a work of very considerable talent, and written with a strength, eloquence, and originality, very different from the feeble, imitative style of most modern Italian authors. As a picture of existing abuses, it was calculated to do much good, in a country where the atrocities it represented had till then been carefully hidden from the eyes of the public; and though many of its details are, no doubt, too revolting for a work of fiction, they are necessary to fulfil the object of the author; and cannot fail, when perused, to awaken all thinking minds, not only to a perception of the degraded state of the heartless creatures—male and female—in connection with the hospital of the Annonciata, but also of the immoral condition of the lower orders in general.

Were not the truth of the details he gives, on these two subjects, confirmed by the disin-

terested natives of the country, who have the best means of knowing the state of the establishments of which he speaks, it would be impossible for a stranger to believe that human nature could be so degraded as he has represented it. A country cannot be called civilized where the servants of the public, the agents of charity, are permitted, with impunity, to inflict on helpless babes and children the dreadful sufferings there can be no doubt they endure within the walls of these dreadful prisons; for such must the Seraglio and Annonciata be called.

The price of this little work was originally only a few shillings; but it is now so difficult to be obtained, that we were asked fifteen piastres for a copy that was offered to be secretly sold.

Other books, such as a new history of the Sicilian Vespers, &c., have recently been seized by the police, and are proscribed; but I am incompetent to speak of their merits, having hitherto been unable to procure them. The fact of their suppression is sufficient to prove that no amelioration is to be hoped for Naples

by means of the press; a press which is forbidden to speak of abuses, or to print any work of education, except written by a priest.

All the best Neapolitan writers have been in recent times of liberal opinions, and found it necessary to reside in foreign countries, to escape persecution, or were driven as fugitives to find safety in exile.

In Paris and in Turin, works have been published by Scialoia, Leopardi, Mancini, and other distinguished Neapolitans, which, though now proscribed, will perhaps, one day, be considered an honour to their country.

CHAPTER V.

The Swiss troops of Naples—No longer enlist with the sanction of the Swiss government—Often vagabonds, composed of all nations—The Swiss soldier's narrative.

THOUGH Switzerland was with justice reproached, in former times, with selling the blood of her sons to foreign tyrants; and her great historian, Muller, has been obliged to admit, that it was disgraceful for a republic to submit—for money—to become the defender of despotic governments, it is no longer done with the consent of the Swiss government.

A contract made long ago by the King of Naples with the Diet of Switzerland, before it

was replaced by the present representative and Federal government, had secured certain privileges to the Swiss soldier in the service of Naples; and, as far as it was necessary to protect the rights of the men who were already there, the compact was acknowledged by the present government—but, as it was not renewed, all future recruits, who enlisted without the sanction of the Swiss government, did so at their own personal risk. Yet, though it is now contrary to law to enlist for foreign service, it is still done in secret, not only in Switzerland, but in many parts of Germany, for what is called the Swiss regiments at Naples.

Although there are many Protestants in that service, and a Protestant chaplain is allowed them at Naples, yet most of the soldiers are Roman Catholics, and many from what are called the little cantons of Switzerland, where the people are essentially aristocratic. Work is scarce amongst the high Alps, education bad, and the men habitually idle—spending half the winter months playing at cards, round a stove in a

heated room. A life of adventure has, therefore, many attractions for the ignorant youths, who are told that Naples is a paradise and a mine of gold. But even in the more industrious and better educated Protestant cantons, many vagabonds are to be found, who, having lost their character at home, are tempted to seek their fortune elsewhere, and who listen eagerly to the falsehoods with which men, subtle in the craft of recruiting, decoy them for their own gain, to renounce the protection of the laws of their own free country, and to trust to the delusive promises of a government, not less corrupted and false than these vile and miserable agents.

In Naples, the young soldier soon discovers that the discipline is severe and the pay bad; but it is then too late to repent; and pursued by the malady of home sickness, and often impelled by despair to return to old habits, the Swiss drink hard, where wine and even beer are cheap, and frequently fall victims to their own intemperance, during the first three years of foreign service.

It cannot be wondered at, if men of this stamp

should, during the recent conflicts with the people of Naples, have behaved with brutality, wherever license was given by their commanders; and when employed to arrest suspected persons, should, in many instances, have robbed them of their money, their watches, and other valuables. But still, it must be admitted, there are many respectable men, both amongst the officers and privates of the Swiss regiments in the service of Naples. Many of the former belong to the aristocratic families of the cantons of Berne and Lucerne, and are better pleased to serve a despotic king than a democratic republic, where men of their principles are now deprived of their ancient privileges, and shut out from the government.

The officers, it is said, are high in favour with the King of Naples, for he must be well aware that he owes his kingdom to their support; but the soldiers experience less indulgence, and when they betray the least insubordination, they become themselves the sufferers from the tyranny it is their duty to support and protect.

The following narrative, which is translated from the words of a soldier in one of the Swiss regiments in Naples, though by birth a Bavarian, will sufficiently prove the truth of this assertion, and may prove interesting to English readers, as a true picture of the life of a galley slave, and of scenes from whence few come forth to narrate the story of their sufferings.

Whilst Englishmen are enjoying all the advantages of freedom and advanced civilization, it is well that they should learn, from time to time, what is the present state of despotic countries, where men have still the power to treat their fellow-creatures like beasts without a soul; and whilst affecting the greatest veneration for religion, to set its most sacred precepts at defiance. It is well that Englishmen should know what tyranny actually can and does inflict on its subjects; that they may better appreciate the value of their own liberty, and never forget to prize it above gold. Even Naples has good laws, but gold can set them all at naught.

The story told by the galley slave concerning

himself and his companions, is worthy of the barbarism of the middle ages; but yet there can be little doubt that this poor soldier, who had incurred the enmity of no party, was treated with leniency, when compared with Poerio, Barbarisi, and other political offenders.

THE SWISS SOLDIER'S NARRATIVE.

"It was a melancholy evening in March, and the rain was falling in torrents, when I arrived in the town of L——. I was on my journey, like other German workmen, in search of employment, and had only a few pence left in my pocket, when I entered the crowded public room of one of the respectable inns of the place.

"The guests were mostly mechanics, like myself, who could find no work, and who, weary of their long and useless wandering, expressed a desire to cross the frontiers into Switzerland, from which we were only at a short distance, and there to enlist in foreign service. We talked a good deal on the subject, but parted without coming to any decision.

"The next morning, early, I took my breakfast at another inn with an old friend, who held some public appointment in the town, and I frankly related to him the melancholy position in which I found myself.

"The only person in the room during my narrative, was an elderly gentleman, who, while our conversation was going on, sat at some distance from us, and did not appear to pay the slightest attention to it.

"My friend promised to look about in the town, without delay, for some employment for me, and appointed to meet me again that afternoon, at the same place.

"He had no sooner departed, than the old gentleman came up to me, and entered into conversation. He assured me there was not the slightest chance of finding occupation in L——, and in the most confidential tone proceeded to explain to me that there was nothing more to be done in Germany, especially in Bavaria. On the contrary, he said, it was charming in Naples, in the Swiss regiment, where a man of my talents

could quickly learn Italian, so that he could be made a subaltern. 'Nay,' he added, 'with good conduct, in a few years you might rise to be an officer. A lieutenant was paid sixty francs a month, and every thing in Naples was as cheap as dirt. Even a common soldier was paid about fifteen kreutzers, or about five-pence a day, and had two excellent and plentiful meals.' In spite of all the attractions he thus held out, I felt for some time no desire to follow his advice. But I foolishly continued to listen to him, till I was at length deluded by the splendid visions he displayed to me. He was, in fact, a professional decoy, a fellow little better than a slave-dealer, who was paid so much a head for every unfortunate fellow he could send off to Naples. At length I was persuaded to follow his advice, and agreed to go with him, though Bregenze, to Feldkirche in the Voralberg, where there was a depôt for recruits.

"We set off in a public carriage to Bregenze, without even waiting to see my friend. Here I received a passport, in which the description

agreed tolerably well with my personal appearance, and which the old gentleman carried, with several others, about him, no doubt, to be in readiness for his captives.

"The passport was made out for Joseph Muller, in Arbon, in the Canton of Thurgau; and for the future, I was to pass myself off by that name.

"We met with no impediment, either at the confines of Austria, or the Tyrol, and were never stopped by the police on guard, and arrived that evening at Feldkirche, where an excellent supper, with beer and wine, was set before me, and I was furnished with a good bed.

"The next day, I wrote to inform my friend of my intention, and was then conducted to a recruiting officer, in whose presence I signed what is called the capitulation, and then received about half-a-crown, with which I was dismissed. At the same time I was promised a bounty of sixty-four Swiss francs (then worth above three guineas), free maintenance at the depôt and on the march, till I arrived where the regiment was put on board a ship, and all the articles of

clothes and equipments stipulated in the capitulation, and the advantages assured to the military, by the Sicilian rules.

"The recruit is to receive every year, one pair of pantaloons of cloth, one waistcoat with sleeves, one cap, three pairs of linen pantaloons, three pairs of drawers, three pairs of socks, four pairs of gaiters, two pocket handkerchiefs, two pairs of new shoes, two pairs of gallowses, two neckcloths. Every two years, one regimental coat, one cloth great coat, one cap, one cap cover, and several other little articles.

"I remained several days in Feldkirche, and as there were several other fellows from the neighbouring countries assembled there, we had a jovial time of it. We received daily a part of our bounty; we had no work, and plenty to eat. At the end of four days, a recruiting officer conducted us to Bladenz, and we then commenced our march over the Adlerburg. The mountains of the Tyrol are at that season covered with snow, and after a painful and tedious journey of thirteen days, we arrived at Leghorn. We travelled

partly on foot, and partly, when we were over-fatigued, on carriages or by the railroad at our own expense: in which cases we were always dreadfully cheated by the conductor of our party. Every day our fare became worse and worse.

"In Leghorn, we were conducted in military order to the barracks, where we soon found we were no longer free agents. We were only permitted to go out at certain appointed hours, and were obliged to return in the evening, before the muster-roll was read. Our conductor had here to give us an account of our expenses, and to pay the balance which remained to us; but he took care to get out of our way, and to carry off our money with him.

"On the third day after our arrival, I was put, with two hundred and seventy other recruits, on board the steam boat Capri, for Naples. We encountered a storm, but at last safely passed the Island of Elba, and ran into the Port of Civita Vecchia, in the course of the morning. Here we received a small portion of rice soup, bread, meat, a little cheese and wine.

"About four o'clock in the afternoon, we put to sea again, and arrived at Naples the next morning at ten o'clock, where we were immediately received by the subalterns of our respective regiments, and were conducted to join them. When we arrived at our quarters, we received some soup and meat, and half-a-pound of bread. We were twenty men, who were joined to the second Swiss regiment.

"We were then inspected by the regimental physician—assigned to our places—washed and clothed in summer trowsers, shoes, stockings, shirt, cap, summer jacket, and gaiters; we were lastly shown our beds.

"The clothes we had brought with us were sold with all possible dispatch, as a recruit could much more easily desert in plain clothes than in his uniform.

"That which a recruit ought to receive on his arrival, according to the capitulation, he receives; but miserably bad; and then the price of these articles, promised free, and every other clothing which he was promised free, is withdrawn from

his pay. The whole is a cheat from beginning to end.

"I had long rued the step I had taken; but it was useless to think of any change, when I was totally ignorant of the language, and without money to pay my journey, and so I began to learn my exercises. I learnt easily, and was liked; but I had, nevertheless, no other wish or idea but to desert. Several Germans and Hungarians, who, like myself, could no longer endure the cheating practised on us, entered into my plot. But we were shipped off to Palermo, before our plans were ripe. We were cheated in every way; and, instead of the fifteen kreutzers which had been promised us, only received four; three kreutzers were kept back, as I before said, to pay for our clothes; and, instead of the excellent food promised to us, our fare was miserable, and eight kreutzers a day was subtracted from our pay, to provide it; the fifteen kreutzers were thus made up, which we had been promised, in addition to food and clothing.

"Our regiment went on board a steam-boat on

an evening in April, and we arrived at Palermo about noon on the following day. The little money we had was expended by this change, and we found the service in Palermo very arduous.

"At last, we fixed the day for our desertion. A Hungarian, who was in our plot, spoke the Sicilian dialect so well, that he was taken for a native; he was a remarkably intelligent man, and we chiefly relied upon him for the success of our undertaking. His name was Franz Bucher; he wrote Italian as well as he spoke it, and spoke also Hungarian, French, German, and Latin. Half our company wished to desert with us, nay, I may say, half our regiment; principally on account of the petty torments which we had to support from vulgar, stupid subalterns. But when it came to the point, we were only four men, who kept their purpose, and we wished no more, as we hoped with this small number it would be easier to escape.

"We proceeded first to a little villa, where we

wished to persuade a fisherman to take us over to Tunis, where, with a good wind, we might have arrived in thirty or six-and-thirty hours; but he mistrusted us. We went from hence several miles further, and at length found a fisherman, who took us over to Troponi. We were here immediately conducted before the commander of the town, to whom we produced a pass, which had been admirably forged. We then hurried forward, and arrived prosperously at Marsalla. We there demanded and received from the Sindick a night's lodging, as soldiers. In the morning, this worthy man lent us seven ducats, and the judge of the town gave us a kind of pass, with which we could proceed to the island Levante, near the coast of Africa, opposite to Tunis. Nothing more stood in the way of our departure, except an unfavourable wind.

"We waited one whole day. During this time, the people of Tropani telegraphed after us; we were discovered, and conducted as deserters to the castle of Marsalla.

"Here we had an excellent room, and denied most lustily that we were deserters. We remained shut up in this manner for eleven days, and Franz Bucher, the Hungarian, succeeded in getting four ducats more from the Sindick. But at length, when it became quite plain that we must give up all thoughts of being liberated, my three companions determined to make themselves drunk, and then put an end to themselves during the night.

"As I did not at all approve of this murderous plan, they gave me about a couple of shillings for my future maintenance, on condition that I promised solemnly not to betray their intentions. From noon till late at night, one jug of wine was brought in after another, and a bottle of arrak was also brought and drank, in order to excite them thoroughly, and give them courage to commit suicide.

"Late in the night, my three half-drunken comrades began to bind each other's arms with their pocket handkerchiefs, and to cut the swollen veins with their pen-knives. But scarcely

any blood came. One of them, now perfectly desperate, cut himself straight across the arm with his knife, and beginning at last to bleed freely, he soon fell senseless from his chair. The other two still operated on their arms, but without any result. In the meantime, I knocked against the wall for the warder, that he might come and prevent one from bleeding to death, and the others from completing their self-destruction.

"I did it also, least I should be suspected of being their murderer, when, in the morning, all three were found weltering in their blood.

"The guard soon came, and seeing what was the matter, brought a physician, who bound up the wounds. After this, we were much more strictly guarded; and the following day, a further investigation was made into the affair, and our knives taken from us. Other consequence, it had none!

"At length, on the twelfth day, we were conducted under an escort to Palermo. During the night we marched tied together like cattle; at

times we stopped to sleep, when we lay in forts, upon bad straw; or often only on the dirty ground, in cold and damp prisons.

"As soon as we arrived at our regiment, we were twice brought before the judge. On the twelfth of September, 1852, we were brought to a court martial, and condemned; Franz Bucher to death—I to twelve years' punishment in the galleys, with chains—the third to six years in the galleys, with chains; and the fourth to ten years of public labour.

"Franz Bucher was at once taken away from our sides, and immediately shot. Three bullets hit him in the breast, two in the head, and one missed. In six minutes after his condemnation he was dead; peace to his ashes! His sufferings were ended, whilst ours were only about to begin.

"The regiment, with the full band playing, defiled with us, past the dead body of Franz Bucher. We were then conducted to prison, we were stripped of our military clothes, and we two, who had been condemned to the galleys,

were clothed in a red jacket, and brown trowsers, and cap; no shoes, for we belonged to the bare-footed order. The third, whose sentence differed from ours, was clothed in yellow trowsers, a jacket and cap of the same colour, but he had no shoes. He was conducted to the fort.

"Before we were removed, the worthy chaplain of our regiment once more visited us; he had accompanied Bucher to death, and now addressed us in the most admirable manner, and gave us each a shilling. What I suffered in parting with this truly excellent clergyman, and when Bucher was taken away from my side to meet his death, my pen is totally unequal to describe.

"Arrived at the fort, we passed through several little dark courts, and at last came to an open place, and to the door of a stone vaulted dungeon, which was covered with plates of iron.

"We were here completely stripped, the few effects we had, and the clothes we had put off, carefully searched; and after we were again dressed, we were locked into the dungeon, where

thirty prisoners were smoking, playing cards, singing, and amusing themselves, and making themselves as gay as they could, in every possible manner.

"My two companions drank each a couple of bottles of wine, and then laid themselves on the wooden bench to sleep. So, amidst two and thirty persons, I was alone with my anguish; for as I could not speak Italian, I was unable to converse with any of those around me.

"As long as we remained in the fort, we received daily five kreutzers (about one penny three-farthings) and a pound of bread; and, in addition to this, the soldiers of our regiment sent us soup twice a day. On the twenty-fourth day, we were conveyed by a steam-boat to the Water Castle at Naples. In this Neapolitan prison there were several Swiss soldiers; some of whom were condemned to the galleys, and others only to labour in the forts. We received about fourpence daily, but no bread. We remained here nineteen days, and I had the good fortune to meet with a countryman, who behaved to

me with so much kindness, that I trust God will reward him.

"On the twentieth day, I was removed with others, who, like myself, were sentenced to chains and the galleys, to the Darsena, the old Bagnio, in which I found from twelve to fifteen hundred prisoners.

"Here a strong iron ring, of about a pound weight, was made fast to one of my feet, with a chain attached to it, between four and five feet long, and weighing two or three pounds. We were then taken into the Bagnio, called L'Etene, an old war ship which lay in the harbour, about a hundred steps from the shore and the old Bagnio.

"In this vessel I found two hundred prisoners, mostly from Calabria—robbers, murderers and thieves. There were only three Swiss amongst them.

"It was Sunday afternoon, and the whole of these fellows were on deck, when we arrived, apparently to their great joy, though we were unable to participate in the feeling.

"The three Swiss made me a place near them, in the lowest part of the ship, where day-light never penetrated; they lay upon the floor, and I beside them, on a miserable rug, about one foot and a half wide.

"Although in all the prisons, both at Palermo and Naples, I had been tormented by bugs, it was far worse here; and joined to this, we were half devoured by ants, and fleas, and lice. I could not sleep a moment, so I sat up, for it was so low, that it was utterly impossible to stand. I filled my pipe—I smoked, I wept, and thought of my wretched destiny!

"Twelve years I must drag on in this place! This idea alone was enough to drive me mad. If I ever prayed to God Almighty before, for his support, I did it now, with all the energy of my soul.

"We remained in this place six weeks without work. Our fare consisted at noon of field beans cooked in some water, and about a spoonful of oil. If the beans were large, there might be seventy or eighty; if small, a hundred and forty

or fifty, and a pound of black bread. As I had no money, and no means of earning any, I sold the trifles I had, to get bread, to still my ravenous hunger.

"At the end of six weeks we both got work, and were employed to clean the port of Naples. At this labour we could often earn from three-pence to four-pence a day. Some had to take out the mud and dirt, others to shovel it away, and a third party to remove it in boats. It fell to my lot to shovel the dirt.

"I must shovel the whole day without daring to stand erect. This heavy work, and the bad fare, made me ill. Often as I shovelled, I saw nothing; and from mere exhaustion, I had such a dazzling in the eyes that I was almost blind, and if I had not held by the side of the boat, I must have fallen into the mud or the water. The horrible water which we had to drink, also helped to produce my illness.

"I was attacked with fever and inflammation of the breast, and on the twentieth of December, 1852, I was taken to the hospital, from

whence I was discharged on the first of February, 1853, and again placed in the Bagnio.

"In the hospital, the galley slaves are fastened to sixteen chains of equal length, which are made fast to the wall, and the foot chains which they wear during labour are removed.

"The treatment in the hospital is good. The physicians are friendly, only the fare is very spare. The best thing which the sick prisoner has, is his bed; yet he can enjoy little rest; for he is first visited by the physician, then by the apothecary, then by the director of the hospital, and by different priests in succession. But the worst of all is, when one of the other prisoners chooses to exercise himself, to the utmost of his ability, by walking six or eight steps up and down, with his chain dragging after him upon the paved floor. The noise is enough to kill any one.

"At half-past eleven o'clock come soup, bread, meat, chickens, fish, eggs, fruit, and even wine, according to what the doctor may have ordered. There is then a pause, till the commander, or

one of his officers, has ascertained that the sick have received the fare which has been ordered for them.

"As soon as these gentlemen are out of the hall, the food which during the morning has been bought and sold amongst the prisoners themselves, is divided, and given where it belongs. It is a fact that many of the prisoners who have money at home, pretend sickness, get into the hospital, sell the food that is given them, and buy what they like better. Others carry on a regular business with these provisions, and buy up cheap from their companions their portions of fruit, or bread or wine, and sell them in the town with profit, by the assistance of their relations and friends, who are allowed to come twice a week to visit them, and bring them other food.

"Five hours later, there is supper, when the same trading goes on, and then the poor sick man's eating is over for the day.

"An itinerant coffee seller comes early in the morning, when, if any one can pay for it, he

may eat and drink as much as he pleases, for everything is to be had for money.

"I was brought three times, on account of sickness, into this hospital. But each time I left it as soon as I had recovered, though many contrived to remain more than two years on the sick list.

"In the beginning of the month of March, 1854, I was in the hospital, when I learnt that his Majesty the King of Bavaria was in Naples, and lodged in the Hotel Victoria. I immediately decided to apply to him, and to entreat him to appeal for my pardon to the King of Naples. I wrote a petition, and a soldier of the thirteenth Jager battalion gave it to the private secretary of the king.

"After eighteen days I was again well, and had returned to the old ship, but a different kind of work was given me. I and fourteen other men had to work in the iron, copper, and lead magazines, from eight o'clock in the morning till eleven, and from one till six. Here I became acquainted with a Neapolitan, whose name was Donat Anton Milano, a man of fifty, who, though

possessed of property, had spent twenty-three years of his life in the galleys. He became so dear to me, that we were always together, and I had to thank him for many kindnesses.

"April, May, June, July, and August, passed away, and I heard nothing as to the effect of my petition. I had already begun to despair of any favourable result, when in the beginning of September, on a Sunday, after the holy mass, I was summoned to the office of the commander of the Bagnio, and it was there disclosed to me that the half of my term of punishment was remitted. For joy I kissed the hands of the secretary, though he was only a prisoner like myself, I thanked the commander, and above all, I thanked God most earnestly, for his kindness and mercy.

"For the remainder of my punishment, I was then taken to the old Bagnio, where the prison is larger, lighter, and more airy. Many of the prisoners grudged me this amelioration, for there are envy and ill-will, even in a galley.

But as I had not means to bribe the secretary

with a shilling or two, he appointed me other work. I was made to labour at the erection of the new batteries, and help to drag the cannon to be placed there. This was not very hard work, but the other men employed in it were of the lowest class, and I had much that was painful to support, from their vulgar taunts, so that I disliked it. I longed to work again in the magazines, and through the intercession of my friend Antonio, was at length permitted to do so.

"I heard, whilst there, that all the galley-slaves who were employed in building a harbour in Ischia, after the completion of the work, would be pardoned by the king. With all haste I petitioned that I might be sent to Ischia, to work at the harbour. My petition went through the hands of a Jesuit priest, and had, God be thanked, a favourable result.

"On the twenty-seventh of May, it was announced that I was to go, with twenty-one other prisoners, to work at the harbour of Ischia.

"My joy was indescribable. We went on board in the evening, and the next morning we were in

Ischia; our labours immediately began. Though the labour in the harbour of Naples had been severe, it was nothing compared with what we had to do here.

"The number of galley slaves amounted to three hundred; I had again to lie on the ground, and was as much tormented with insects as ever. But on the fifteenth of June, my chain was taken off, so that I could work more easily.

"The thought that the more I worked, so much sooner should I be free, gave me strength, I carried the largest baskets of unslaked lime, which often fell upon my head and my body, and slaked by the perspiration, burnt me fearfully, in many places. I often had to carry lime for miles; we were then covered with the dust of it; and in this state we were frequently compelled to work in the water, so that our shirts and trowsers, the only covering we had, on account of the heat, went all to pieces. But we Swiss did not care for this, or much worse, and gave the Neapolitans a good example of industry, and encouraged them to work, which

they required, for they are naturally lazy, and do anything rather than work.

"In the beginning of August, the cholera made its appearance in Ischia, and carried off many of the galley slaves and the soldiers. Our labour was therefore a little slackened, and we were given better soup and bread. We were also permitted to rest two hours at noon, during the greatest heat of the day.

"On the 18th of August, I was obliged to be taken to the hospital, on account of a wound in my foot, and I remained there till the 3rd of September. At last, on the 24th of September, the hour of my liberation arrived! I had passed two terrible years."

The unfortunate sufferer then relates the announcement of his pardon by the King of Naples, describes his unbounded joy, and recounts the adventures of his journey home. He concludes with these words—

"May my fate serve as a warning to all young men, never to listen to the fellows who seek to inveigle recruits for foreign ser-

vice! If only a few attend to my warning, if only one is prevented from enlisting, my purpose in writing this narrative is accomplished."

CHAPTER VI.

Revolutions of Naples—The evil influence of the Bourbon Family—Character of the Neapolitans—Present Persecution.

BEFORE entering on a narrative, of the recent disturbances in Naples, we shall give a short sketch of the preceding revolutions there, the last of which occurred in 1820. This may better enable the English reader to understand the present position of the country; and the whole story is one of profound interest, as manifesting the extraordinary difficulty which attends the establishment of permanent national liberty, in a country long degraded by the feudal rights

of the aristocracy, the venality of a court which has corrupted the administration of justice, and the ignorance fostered by the ministers of a barbarous superstition. The family of Bourbon, who still retain the throne of Naples, have, no doubt, long retarded the development and progress of the Neapolitan people. Vice and bloodshed have characterized their rule in every other country where they have held dominion; but in none more so than in the kingdom of Naples. They have attempted to govern on the principles of the middle ages, at a time when their subjects are becoming daily more conscious of their right, as human beings, to be governed by the laws made by their own representatives, instead of the will of an absolute sovereign, and have provoked a combat with their people, in which the Crown is for a time triumphant. But the Neapolitans have thirty times essayed to shake off the yoke of foreign despots, or domestic tyrants; and this people, so commonly reproached for the idleness, frivolity and corruption, which have been fostered by their

rulers, have shown, by these repeated efforts, that they place a high value on the freedom they have never been able to preserve. The cruel and absolute tyranny of the present sovereign is only maintained by the hireling soldiers of various nations, who bear the common name of the Swiss regiments.

But the time is coming, and will come before long, when this clever, gay, and harmless people will recover their natural rights, and ceasing to be treated by their rulers like a band of miserable slaves, will enjoy a rational freedom, under a legal, constitutional, representative government, conducted by responsible ministers.

It is to be hoped that education will then gradually develop the mental powers with which the Neapolitan has been largely gifted by nature, and the moral principles which, except amongst men of remarkable education and natural probity, have been stifled in all classes by idleness, poverty and superstition.

Agriculture is now neglected, commerce and manufactures are principally carried on by

strangers, yet the country, like its inhabitants, has been richly endowed by nature; and only a liberal government is necessary to give encouragement to unshackled industry, and free-trade to turn the abundant resources of this beautiful and fertile country and its mineral treasures to full account.

Those who know Naples well, have ever persisted in assuring me that the Neapolitans are a good people, though degraded by long slavery. They appeared to me to possess the characteristics of all slaves, and with some bright exceptions, are fawning and servile in all classes where there is anything to be gained; whilst pride, meanness, misery and the love of pleasure, exist very frequently in conjunction.

The officials now attached to the Court are a disgrace to any nation; but the character of the whole inhabitants of a country must not be judged from that of the minions of the despotism which oppresses it.

There are many noble-minded and enlightened men in the upper and middle classes, who are

anxious to establish the liberty of their country on solid foundations, and thus contribute to the amelioration of the moral character of its inhabitants, the establishment of judicious education, and the encouragement of honest pride and self-relying industry. Noblemen, barristers, and men of talent, who have profited by long experience in political life, or by extensive knowledge, or a residence in foreign countries, and who conscientiously exerted their abilities to procure for Naples the reform of abuses, and the rational liberty which they consider necessary for its welfare, these are the men against whom the present government wages an inexorable war. Every one who is either enlightened, or skilful in business, or noble minded, or honest, is either compelled to fly his country, or to wear out life in chains and captivity.

The sources of all salutary reforms are thus cut off, and the people are equally deprived of leaders, and of the ameliorating influence which men of talent and probity by degrees effect by their contact with society alone.

The worthiest of the nation are imprisoned, and then the dregs, whom fear and interest compel to silence and submission, are reproached as being unworthy of freedom and incapable of attaining it, without foreign support. But the story of the past, as well as of the present, proves, that it is the despotism of the Neapolitan sovereigns, which has always needed the support of foreign troops to maintain it; and those who know the countries well, do not scruple to assert, that if Austria remained neutral, and the Swiss troops were dismissed from the service of Naples, the inhabitants of the two Sicilies would not delay to prove their capability of asserting their own rights, of exercising a constitutional representative government, and of demonstrating their fitness, for the enjoyment of rational freedom.

CHAPTER VII.

Ferdinand the First—His wife, Maria Carolina—New doctrines—Reforms by Tenucci—Ferdinand flies to Sicily— His return to Naples — Cardinal Ruffo — Massacre—Joseph—Murat—Death of Caroline—Revolution of 1820.

FERDINAND THE FIRST ascended the throne of Naples A.D. 1759. As he was then only eight years of age, the country was, during his minority, governed by a council of regency, of which the Marquis Tenucci was the chief. In fact, this man may have been said to govern the kingdom of Naples till his retirement in 1777; for the young king neither learnt nor laboured, but passed his time in eating, drinking, hunting, fishing, and low society.

In the year 1768, the king married Maria

Carolina, the daughter of the Austrian Empress, Maria Theresa, and the sister of Maria Antoinette, the Queen of France. She was then only sixteen, and as remarkable for talent and beauty, as she afterwards became for her intrigues, her tyranny, and her heartless cruelty.

The new doctrines of the French philosophers, which had prepared the way for the first revolution in France, produced also considerable effect in Italy. Men of education there, studied little but French literature; and it is not improbable that the mind of the Neapolitan minister, Tenucci, was greatly influenced by it, when he commenced reforms in his own country, which increased the public excitement and the love of change, which had been newly awakened amongst the people. But it was against the clergy that his measures were chiefly directed. He repressed many monasteries, he regulated the collection of tithes, and limited the number of priests. He also aimed a heavier blow at the church, by forbidding it to receive any inheritance from the dead. The clergy were forbidden to accept a

summons from Rome, without the permission of the Neapolitan government; the bishops were not allowed to meddle with education, nor the pope to interfere in many of the religious affairs of the kindom; marriage was declared only a civil contract; and the Jesuits were expelled.

But on the other hand, neither economy nor reform was made in the finances; though the taxes, which fell lightly on the great, were heavily oppressive on the middle and lower classes. The army was neglected, and ill-judged legal reforms were disapproved by the members of the bar.

The strangest contradictions were manifested at this time in every act of the government; and a romantic philanthropy, probably imitated from the philosophical reforms of the Emperor Joseph, the brother of the Queen of Naples, was shown in many social experiments, whilst tyranny was exercised in other respects with all its former severity.

A socialist colony was founded near Caserta, on the principles of the French philosophers, where

all the members were equal, and worth made the only distinction, whilst at the same time it was forbidden to read the Florentine Gazette, on pain of six months' imprisonment; and the perusal of the works of Voltaire was punished by three years in the galleys.

After the outbreak of the French revolution, the position became more serious. Better times were expected, and a better government desired by the people of Naples, whilst the apprehensions of the court increased daily.

It was known, however, that the liberals formed secret unions, and were concerting measures to obtain the reforms they had long ardently desired, and the government adopted stringent means to maintain, what the court called order! For this purpose, all legal forms were set aside, numerous arrests were made, and followed by long imprisonment without examination or trial; but, as might have been expected by wiser politicians, such unjustifiable tyranny only aggravated the evil it strove to repress.

The finances were in the greatest disorder, and the Court, though it had formed a treaty with England, which promised its support, lived day and night in constant terrors of conspiracy and assassination.

The French, in the summer of 1798, marched against Rome, and the Pope took to flight. It was time, therefore, for Naples to adopt some decisive measures; and Ferdinand accordingly, being encouraged by his allies, England, Austria, and Russia, declared war against the French Republic. On the 27th November, 1798, he entered Rome with a large army, under pretence of defending it against the French; but the king and his soldiers were quickly put to flight by General Mack, who in turn took possession of the Holy City, and marched so rapidly forward towards Naples, that Ferdinand, his Queen, and Court, sought safety, by escaping into Sicily.

The people were left without government to the mercy of the invaders, whilst Ferdinand had not only provided for the safety of himself and

his family, but carried large sums of money with him, which he had for years been amassing.

At this time, Lord Nelson commanded the English fleet in the Mediterranean; and the celebrated Lady Hamilton, the wife of the English ambassador at Naples, having gained the favour of the Queen, was an active agent in all the intrigues carried on in support of the English interest, in the councils of the Neapolitan government.

The French army was opposed by the lazzaroni, and lost a thousand men in a battle, which preceded their entrance into Naples, on the twenty-second of January, 1799. But they were victorious, and the Parthenopean Republic was proclaimed by General Championet. The wild enthusiastic youth, and the nobility of Naples, who had received a half French education, gladly accepted the new form of government which was offered to them by their invaders, and eagerly adopted republican ideas. For several months a kind of intoxication took possession of the Neapolitans. Princes and Dukes, accustomed to all the brilliancy of riches and luxury of

power, would hear of nothing but equality; priests and monks clamoured for the downfall of the church, and courtiers for the destruction of the monarchy! But scarcely any blood was shed, and the lazzaroni were restrained from plunder by the presence of French soldiers.

The people, though they understood little of the constitution they had accepted, were overjoyed by the conviction that they had obtained permanent freedom, and gave way to the wildest manifestations of delight. But their happiness was of short duration; for the French had no sooner withdrawn, than Cardinal Ruffo, the confidant of Queen Caroline, appeared, with an army of sixty thousand Calabrians, to put an end to this short reign of freedom.

By the command of an infamous woman, protected by an English fleet, under Lord Nelson, Naples was taken by storm, and given over for six weeks to the rage and lust of plunder of the worst of its inhabitants, and the half-savage army of Calabrians. Cardinal Ruffo saw with horror the enormities which were

committed; but he was unable to restrain the fury of his soldiers, for the Queen had said, that every one in Naples, above the rank of a common lawyer, must die!

The Point de Maddalena was the scene of fearful horrors. Here maidens and children, old men and women, were murdered without distinction. Every person rendered remarkable by rank or education was sacrificed by the lazzaroni and the Calabrians, and the flower of the Neapolitan population was annihilated. Two hundred palaces were plundered, countless works of art destroyed, and forty thousand human beings, whom Cardinal Ruffo had with difficulty rescued from the executioners, languished and died in prison. Nearly fifty tribunals, presided over by robbers and ruffians, sat with mock solemnity, to condemn an innocent people to death. Every one was sacrificed who had an enemy amongst the galley-slaves; and the friends of freedom were shot in ranks in cold blood by their victors. Twenty-four thousand persons were either murdered, robbed, or imprisoned.

It is needless to repeat the story of a sad execution, which took place on board of an English man-of-war, which casts a dark shadow over an English name which has won great renown in the annals of our country.

Ferdinand regained his throne; but it can scarcely be expected that the Neapolitans, however volatile, can for ever forget how recklessly the blood of their relatives and friends has been shed to maintain the Bourbons on the throne of Naples.

When war again broke out with France in 1805, it was not to be wondered at, that the people showed little zeal in favour of their government. In the beginning of the year 1806, the King and Queen were obliged to fly a second time to Sicily, and on the fourteenth of February, the French again took possession of Naples.

The time for republics had passed over, and under the influence of Napoleon, his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, was declared King of Naples.

Property was at that time in few hands, and entails, mortgages, and church possessions greatly impeded its circulation. The nobility and the priests were rich, but the people were poor. Many felt the want of reforms without the power to effect them, and hailed with satisfaction the accession of a new king, who possessed the means to put down old abuses.

Much disappointment followed; yet some reforms were made, though not equal to the expectations which had been excited by Joseph's accession to the throne of Naples.

The finance system was brought into order. Wise regulations were made with regard to education, but money was unfortunately wanting to put them in execution; monasteries were suppressed, but their possessions appropriated to the use of government; strangers were enriched at the expense of the natives, and the poor so utterly neglected, that many were driven to crime from absolute want. Joseph is said, therefore, to have been little regretted when he was removed to Madrid.

On the fifteenth of July, 1808, Murat was proclaimed King of Naples. The country by no means prospered under his government; the taxes were trebled, trade languished, and agriculture was in the most miserable state. Yet a great deal of money was spent—on excavations, museums, a botanical garden, new roads near the capital, and the embellishment of the city of Naples.

The police was severe, and a system of spies was introduced, which penetrated into every circle of society. Though the people, now accustomed to change, had received Murat with enthusiasm, he placed little dependence on them, and bestowed all his favours on his army, as his best reliance for defence against internal and external enemies.

"During the government of the French, which lasted ten years in Naples," says an Italian writer, "commerce and business were entirely carried on by foreigners. A countless band of officials appropriated large sums of the annual income of the state, and of the property of which the state

had taken possession. An army of sixty thousand men, exclusive of the militia, and other theatrically dressed gentlemen; officers in fashionable uniforms; an antlike heap of new nobility, rivalled the old families. Disorders, folly, and extravagance of every description, though of momentary advantage to many, who had their fortune to make, were destructive of the best interests of the kingdom."

The dictation which Napoleon exercised over Murat, and his prostration to the interests of France, might be one cause of his neglecting the true interest of Naples. But he did not patiently submit to this dominion. His disagreement with his wife, the sister of the Emperor, had long been known; and on Napoleon's return from Russia, he addressed a violent letter to the queen, in which he spoke of her husband as ungrateful, incapable of acting with policy, unworthy of his relationship, and deserving of severe punishment.

Murat answered him with great spirit in a

style which completed their alienation; nor did a reconciliation take place, till he met the Emperor in Erfurt.

In the year 1813, the public in Naples showed symptoms of disaffection to his government; but he endeavoured to strengthen his authority, by forming a treaty with England and Austria, which powers agreed to recognize him as King of Naples. But his own imprudence speedily terminated even this doubtful authority.

On Napoleon's escape from Elba, 26th February, 1815, he prematurely took up arms, and, possessed by some vain idea of placing himself at the head of Italian independence, he pushed forward with his army as far as the Po.

But the moment was judged unfavourable by the liberals for any great national effort; nor did the character of Murat inspire them with sufficient confidence, for them to adopt him as their leader. No assistance therefore was given him, in answer to his appeals; and even the prisoners whom he liberated from Austrian

captivity, preferred their quiet homes, to encountering new dangers, under such a commander.

Unsupported, Murat soon found it necessary to retreat; the weakness of his brilliant army was then quickly manifest. The soldiers lost both hope and courage, and treason and disorder soon prepared the way for their defeat. This occurred on the 14th of May, at Tolentino; and the death of Murat, who was taken and barbarously shot, soon terminated all opposition to the return of the old dynasty.

Queen Caroline, Murat's wife, saw from the vessel in the harbour to which she had fled, the fêtes which were prepared for the return of King Ferdinand, and heard the songs sung in ridicule of herself, by the people who approached her vessel, in their boats, for the purpose of insulting her.

Men were for the moment tired of revolutions, and had no desire to throw the kingdom into fresh convulsions for the sake of a usurper.

The Austrians once more entered Naples, but

this time without opposition; and to prevent the recurrence of bloodshed, a universal amnesty was published.

During the time that Ferdinand and his family had resided in Sicily, many changes had taken place. Reforms were loudly demanded by the people of the island. The aristocracy dreaded an attack upon their rights and privileges, and knowing that the English in Sicily were frequently discontented with the court, sought their assistance and support.

English influence was, in fact, predominant in the island; and with the support and approbation of Lord William Bentinck, the English ambassador there, a constitution was proclaimed, similar in many respects, to that of England, with a Chamber of Deputies, and a House of Lords.

All classes were content. But the rage of the Queen knew no bounds, and the king was so discontented, that on the 16th of January, 1812, he resigned the government to his eldest son. Queen Caroline, detesting any approach to

liberty amongst her subjects, and virulent in her hatred of England, never ceased to intrigue with France, and with the disaffected amongst her own subjects, in order, if possible, to upset the new order of things in Sicily.

Violent, tyrannical, and unprincipled, this haughty woman became at length so troublesome to those who had the conduct of affairs, that she received an intimation from the English authorities, that it would be advisable for her to withdraw from the island of Sicily.

She accordingly departed with her second son, Leopold, and proceeded to Vienna, by way of Constantinople, all other roads being obstructed by the war. Caroline died the following year, and, perhaps happily for the people of Naples, never more revisited that city where the memory of the enormous atrocities committed by her authority, have rendered her name detested by the inhabitants.

Ferdinand returned alone to his capital, to find the laws, the manners, the hopes and the pursuits of his subjects, in many respects, greatly changed

during his absence. Only the lower orders were in ignorance and superstition still the same; but they had been made more restless by successive revolutions, and more conscious of their power. A strong government was necessary to restrain their lust for plunder, but no one ever seems to have thought that a simple but judicious education would have been the best method of keeping the lazzaroni in order, and converting idle and troublesome vagabonds into useful citizens. Perhaps the king would not have agreed to such a proposition, for the lazzaroni as they were, with their undisciplined humour and careless wit, were at all times his especial favourites.

The detestation which the Neapolitans had felt to a foreign government, and the host of vain and domineering strangers, whose extravagance impoverished the nation, was so great, that in their eagerness to get rid of it, they seem to have forgotten how much they had previously suffered under the dominion of the Bourbons. The return of their king was hailed with

pleasure. Fair promises had again been made by King Ferdinand, which some believed, and many from policy accepted as truth. To prevent the return of the king was impossible, and even those who feared the consequences, thought it best to consult their private self-interest, by yielding to his power, and accepting his rewards.

The new government was no sooner firmly established, than it became evident, that it had learnt nothing by adversity. Its former opponents were persecuted, disgraced and in some cases punished, and all ancient abuses were upheld.

After the departure of the Austrian army in 1817, the faults of the rulers became more frequent and glaring; and gradually, by their own acts, all the confidence and hope and affection which the people had began to feel in them, were destroyed.

During the reign of Murat, many changes had been made in the laws and administration, which, after this restoration of King Ferdinand to the throne of his fathers, were not consistent

with his notions of royal authority, and were at once suppressed, although reforms in certain departments of the state were promised, in order to appease the discontent which was thus excited.

The constitution given by the English to the Sicilians was revoked in the same arbitrary manner; and though the King protested that another should speedily replace it, it has never appeared; thence the frequent disturbances in Palermo, and the other great cities of the island.

The promises of Ferdinand the First to his people were probably only made with the intention of breaking them; and at any rate, the reforms in Naples were so long delayed that the people became impatient. The sect of the Carbonari, originally instituted in opposition to the French government, was still in existence, and adapting itself to the altered circumstances of the country, became the asserter of popular rights, and exerted itself with eager activity, to foment the popular discontent, and to systemize the spirit of opposition.

Many reasons then combined, to excite a

revolutionary feeling throughout the country. Numerous officers, grown old in the service of the country, were neglected by the court, who left them to suffer in poverty and misery without hope of future preferment; the beneficial enactments of Murat, now revoked, were missed by all classes; foreign advisers around the throne insulted the pride of the Neapolitan nobility; an increase of the land tax was a burthen heavily felt by all, and the anger of the people was especially excited by the re-establishment of forty-two monasteries, the funds of which had, no doubt, already been appropriated to private or public purposes.

The strongest evidence of universal discontent is, that the sect of the Carbonari, or Reformers, suddenly multiplied to the enormous number of six hundred and twenty thousand members.

Every one, except the government, was in the secret of the intended revolution, and the union of all parties to effect it was so general, that no innkeeper would receive a guest who did not, like

himself, belong to the association. The success of the constitutional party in Spain in 1820, increased the courage of the Neapolitans, and they resolved to make a similar attempt.

When the government was at length sensible of the danger by which it was menaced, no efficient measures were taken to tranquillise the discontent of the people, and means were wanting to keep them in subjection. A foolish attempt was made to oppose the Carbonari, and to dispute their influence with the people, by means of another sect called the Calderari, a society of feeble dependents of the old system of regal despotism. This only provoked an open conflict, which it was the interest of the government by every means to avoid; and a short time only elapsed, till the public discontent infected the whole army.

On the 2nd of July, 1820, Michel Morelli, a lieutenant in the cavalry regiment Bourbon, and a priest, Lud-Minichini, dared openly to raise the standard of rebellion. Morelli inflamed the soldiers of his squadron at Nola, by asserting

that the King was desirous of granting the country a liberal constitution, which he had long had ready, and the proclamation of it was only prevented by certain of his advisers, who were inimical to the true interests of the people. Minichini, at the head of the national guard of Nola, joined him, and they marched together to Avellino, the seat of the provincial authorities, where a friend and associate of Morelli, a Colonel Conciliis, had already gained over the soldiers, to declare for the insurrection. A body of troops under the command of General Campana, which was immediately sent by the government to put down this rebellion, left their commander, and declared for the insurgents.

Salerno and other towns, on receiving intelligence of this movement, lost no time in hoisting the three-coloured flag of the Carbonari; and when General Corasco marched against them, with a strong detachment of troops, he was speedily deserted both by soldiers and officers, and compelled to return alone to Naples.

In the meantime, on the 5th of July, General

William Pepe had joined the rebels, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, and was recognised as the commander-in-chief of the revolted army.

On the following day, the civic guard and the regiment on guard at the palace sent a deputation to the King; whereupon his Majesty, with great solemnity, announced his intention of complying with the wishes of his subjects, and granting them a representative constitution, the sketch of which he promised to make publicly known in eight days.

But the triumphant army still advanced towards Naples, and the insurgents proclaimed their resolution not to accept any other terms than the nomination of the Crown Prince as Regent, the appointment of a new ministry, and positive acceptance by the Royal Family of the Spanish constitution of 1812.

All this was done; William Pepe was named commander-in-chief, and on the 9th of July made a triumphal entry into Naples, to the inexpressible exultation of the people.

The King, the Crown Prince, and Prince

Leopold, soon afterwards, in the presence of the liberal Junta, took their oaths to a new constitution, similar to that of Spain; the administration of government was conducted in the newly prescribed forms, and the whole nation received intelligence of these changes with the loudest expressions of satisfaction.

The new parliament was summoned to meet on the 1st of October, and the great work of a new organization of the state seemed to have been completed, without a drop of blood having been shed!

A spirit of national love and activity were aroused; talent, before buried by oppression in oblivion, began to show itself; the army returned tranquilly to its usual duties; the censorship of the press was done away with, and good periodicals rapidly made their appearance; enlightened men dared to express their opinions and to print them; and the education of a people was thus begun, who had long studiously been kept in the most complete ignorance.

In fact, all classes throughout the kingdom of

Naples appeared for a time as if awakened from a long lethargy. The desire that the secret system, which had long concealed the proceedings of the government and the conduct of the police, should at once be put an end to, was a national feeling; and the prompt reform of the abuses which had become rank in every department of government, was universally demanded.

The noblest principles were professed, very wise determinations were made, and the improvement of the people and their position was one of the first subjects discussed by the leaders of the revolution. Yet, as is very frequently the case with men who possess more learning than experience, or business habits, a great deal was said, and very little done.

But though the reformers might be wanting in the knowledge of affairs, the brightest examples were given of the most disinterested self-sacrifice. All the leaders of the liberal party appeared to have no object in view but the welfare of their country. There was no dissension, no thirst for blood, nor any of those

barbarous tumults, which have disgraced the annals of revolution in many other countries.

The King and his people appeared to act most harmoniously, as if united by a common interest; and nothing further seemed desirable, except external peace and the solid establishment of the new institutions.

Parliament was opened with all due solemnity, and the inhabitants of Naples were highly excited by this novel and important event. Yet the public peace remained undisturbed.

It was the interest of the liberal party to maintain the strictest legal order; and the people themselves, conscious of the noble object which all had in view, and exalted above their usual frivolity by the sense of their own power and newly-recovered liberty, made no abuse of either.

When reports reached Naples that the great sovereigns of Europe were hostile to the new institutions, and that attempts would be made from without to put them down by force, the people, with one accord, rushed to arms, and

clamoured loudly about resistance and national independence.

But something more than enthusiasm was necessary to maintain the constitution against the double attacks of enemies, both within and without the kingdom; and the eagerness of the people for fighting was totally vain, when the materials of war were utterly wanting; and there was no union in the plans of the leaders, who ought to have directed them.

It was true that the three chiefs of the revolution, Pepe, Carascosa, and Filangieri, were considered experienced generals. It was true that brilliant uniforms and cavalry volunteers glittering with gold and silver, were to be seen in abundance; but the generals disagreed; the artillery was in a wretched state; a complete battery was no where to be found; and only a few feeble battalions of the infantry were fully equipped for war.

A part of the young nobility delighted to display their new uniforms and handsome horses in the Toledo; but the greater number were in-

dignant at seeing their names in the list of the National Militia, and that they were compelled to appear as soldiers in the streets, where they had been accustomed to roll in their carriages.

There was, however, a better feeling amongst the middle classes; but even their fervour and excitement was, for the most part, only superficial; and they often treated the whole affair with their usual levity and wit. When the duty on salt was lowered, and Pepe rose high in favour, it was a current joke to say, that salt had fallen, but pepper had risen!

But the lazzaroni were decidedly against the new order of things. The revolution had not afforded them either amusement or profit. There had been no fires, and no plundering; they considered it, therefore, as an imperfect and worthless piece of business, and threatened to upset the new arrangement at the first convenient opportunity.

But fortunately the Patriotic Association, and the National Guard, were strong enough to keep these miscreants in order; and as they were

without a leader, the whole revolution passed over without their being able to effect any serious mischief, although they at all times bear an inveterate hatred to the class of Galanluomini, as they call the citizens and gentry.

A people like the Neapolitans, who are prone to be highly excited by first impressions, were naturally aroused to a state of the highest enthusiasm by the possession of their new privileges; but as habit accustomed them to the change, this feeling subsided, and was replaced by a universal mistrust. The great events which occurred, appeared too good to be relied upon as permanent; old suspicions returned; though the system of spies was said to be abolished, men could not learn, all at once, to place reliance on each other. King Ferdinand nobody trusted, and he was universally despised.

"Who does not know that Ferdinand is a Pulchinello?" was said openly by the people.

It was supposed, that the present King, then the Crown Prince, was favourably disposed to the constitution; but it was suspected that the

other members of the royal family were opposed to it. The Minister Zurlo and the Duca di San Gallo were positively known to be strenuous opposers of the new order of things. They held their posts, but were ready to assist every reactionary measure. The clergy were neutral; the courtiers were secretly enraged at changes which threatened to curtail their privileges, and put an end to the abuses and corruptions of their class; and they waited with impatience for the time when they expected to be revenged on the liberals for their losses and mortifications. The advocates, and all the dependents on the bar, probably the best educated men in Naples, and the most aware of the necessity for reform, had joined with the military in demanding the constitution, and were most active in supporting it.

In addition to the positive benefits arising from the revolution, it delighted the people of Naples, by the perpetual shows and amusements it afforded them. Processions, parades, public performances at the theatres, and lastly, par-

liamentary sittings, and many other interesting events, were of constant occurrence, and afforded endless delight to this vivacious people. On such occasions, the cries of "Long live the King and the Constitution!" were most vociferous; and an eye-witness asserts, that these enthusiastic demonstrations were sufficient to make any one believe that the hearts of the people were so devoted to the new constitution, that, defended by the nation, no foreign power would succeed in overthrowing it.

Other scenes occurred, which were truly worthy of a free and noble people. When Pepe appeared in the new Junta, to lay down his sword with solemn ceremony at the foot of the throne, and to request that his resignation of the post of Commander-in-Chief might be accepted, no one could behold the scene without being deeply moved. It was said to be worthy of Greece, or ancient Rome; and the effect it produced on the people of Naples was such as to revive their enthusiasm for liberty with increased force, and to make them, for a

time, once more forgetful of all selfish interests, in their zeal for the public welfare.

It was soon evident that neither talent nor eloquence were wanting in the new Neapolitan parliament. It has been remarked, that the readiness with which the deputies adopted a parliamentary tone, and the calm and constitutional manner in which its proceedings were conducted, afford a strong evidence of the natural aptitude of the Neapolitans for political business, although uneducated by experience for self-government.

Everything was conducted with the greatest order, and the behaviour of the deputies was dignified and noble. There was none of that awkwardness which might have been expected in men appearing for the first time in such an assembly. All were silent when a speaker addressed the house; there was no laughing nor whispering, to distract the attention of the listeners; all were seriously occupied with the subjects they came there to discuss, and perfectly in earnest. Nor was the conduct of the spec-

tators less praiseworthy. Closely pressed together, they had scarcely room to breathe, yet there was no pushing or impatient struggling, and not a sound broke the solemn stillness.

"The subject of debate," continues our authority, "was the law of loans, and Poerio, the same unfortunate man whose sufferings have been narrated by Gladstone, and who still drags on life in chains in a Neapolitan prison, spoke with the noblest patriotic enthusiasm; others followed him, in an equally worthy strain; and we left the hall impressed with profound respect, convinced that every element of a wise and constitutional freedom was to be found amongst the Neapolitan people."

Spiritual life appeared, in fact, to have been suddenly awakened out of a long slumber. People began to read and learn, and many enquired, perhaps for the first time in Naples, into the situation, laws, and governments, of other countries; and even the least sanguine hoped that truth, wisdom, knowledge, and art, would again return with liberty, to give lasting

prosperity and happiness to their long-oppressed country.

But it was only a flitting delusion. The governor who had in a moment of weakness, bestowed freedom on this kind-hearted and harmless people, only left them the enjoyment of it till he had devised the means of regaining the power he had renounced. If the liberals were permanently triumphant in Naples, in limiting the power of the sovereign, it would be a dangerous example for the rest of Europe; and there were then, as now, other sovereigns, who considered that their own arbitrary power, would be endangered by the existence of a permanent and prosperous constitutional government in the south of Italy. The example of men of liberal principles successfully conducting a nation to freedom and prosperity, without excesses and without bloodshed, was not to be tolerated; and it was decided in the councils of Europe, that such a dangerous nursery of disaffection and rebellion should be destroyed with all possible despatch. The first step necessary

for the success of this reactionary party, was that King Ferdinand II. should go to Laybach.

Placards at the corners of the streets of Naples, announced that the King made this journey in order to procure for his faithful people the friendship and sympathy of foreign states.

The Neapolitans now began to remember that he was a Bourbon—one of a race whose word could not be trusted; and speedily had a presentiment of the evil that was to follow.

Many persons felt that the departure of the King should be prevented; but no one had courage for such a bold and decided measure. Ferdinand therefore, embarked on his treacherous voyage; but the wind was against him, and he was detained several days in the Bay of Naples.

As long as the people had relied on the sincerity of their monarch, they had hoped that peace might be maintained with foreign powers; but now, when all confidence in their sovereign was at an end, they clearly saw the dangers which awaited them, and all the inhabitants of Naples took up arms.

But it was too late; every thing necessary successfully to resist invasion, was wanting. There was neither money, nor war materials, nor horses, nor cannon, nor weapons for the military. Before long, even the good will of the people gave way.

The hesitation and doubt of the liberals every day increased; the royalists became more presumptuous. Half measures were decided on, and even these were never put into execution. Fear and anxiety took possession of the people; the slightest accident at this time threw all Naples into consternation; and its inhabitants were in a constant state of anxiety and terror, without knowing what to fear.

Nor is this to be wondered at, when we remember that nearly sixty thousand persons had been massacred in the city, on the return of the banished royal family to power, little more than twenty years before.

A musket of one of the guards went off by chance, and the ball grazed the leg of a lazzarone. Crowds of people immediately rushed into the Toledo, in a state of the mad-

dest excitement, screaming, "The guards have fired on us—save yourselves! save yourselves!"

This alarm sufficed to fill the whole city with confusion. The lazzaroni brandished their knives, the civic guard flew to arms, the alarm bells were rung, the mob assembled tumultuously, and prepared to release the prisoners and galley slaves.

But the military soon appeared to disperse the throng. The enraged people attacked them with stones, tore up the pavement, and began to build barricades in the narrow streets and in the Mercato.

The Commander-in-Chief, Pepe, then came in person, and endeavoured to appease the storm; but in vain; nobody would listen to him. Shouts were raised about treachery and deceit, and he was asked, how he dared to send the guards with loaded fire-arms amongst the honest, harmless people of Naples. From words, the mob proceeded to acts of violence, till it was absolutely necessary for those in authority to resist force by force.

Cannon were brought before the palace, the riot act of Naples was read; yet the masses still advanced from the Toledo, till the first ranks were pushed forward, amongst the advance guard of the soldiers.

Then the struggle began, and for some minutes there was some danger that the mob might be victorious, until the soldiers fired two rounds of blank cartridges over the heads of the people, which at once put them to flight.

They fled, howling and screaming, into the by streets and alleys, where they were safe from pursuit; tranquillity was restored; little blood was shed; and, after two or three days of anxiety and excitement, the city was quiet as before.

But such events were of small importance, for the fate of the kingdom of Naples was decided at Laybach. The King there received promises of assistance from Austria, and finally announced to his subjects his determination to adhere to the old system, to withdraw the constitution he had been compelled by a rebellious force to grant, as he had already suppressed the consti-

tution given by England to Sicily, and he at the same time demanded the obedience of the Neapolitans to his will and the will of his allies.

Doubtful of obedience, he took the precaution of enforcing it by the bayonets of an Austrian army.

With apparent courage, but in a most inefficient state, the little army of Neapolitan patriots marched out to oppose this foreign invasion. But resistance was perfectless hopeless. Fault after fault was committed in the Neapolitan camp. The talents and experience of the generals, and the admirable plans they devised for the conduct of the campaign, were utterly useless, for there were no officers who could put them in execution.

As the enemy approached, treachery and despair made rapid progress in the army of the patriots, and hardly had a few shots fallen near Riète, when the whole of the liberal soldiers took to flight, and dividing into small marauding parties, they dispersed themselves over the whole country.

When the news of this entire defeat reached

the city, the people turned for protection and safety to the Crown Prince. The chiefs of the constitutional party fled, or were arrested and thrown into prison; Capua opened its gates, and the Austrian army marched into Naples, in such broad array as to fill the Toledo, and compel the helpless mob to take refuge in the nooks and corners of the city.

Tranquillity was re-established. The old ministers, the old arbitrary and corrupt proceedings of the court and its dependents, were restored; the government pursued its former course, the King made a triumphal entry into his beloved city, and the lazzaroni shouted and clamoured as joyously as before.

But Naples was sad. Her best hopes, her loftiest aspirations and her most reasonable desires were alike crushed; thirty of her noblest citizens were captive or had fled to England; and though few executions took place, a relentless persecution was carried on against the liberals, and all the better classes were bowed down in sadness for private losses or public disappointment.

Yet, aware that all hope of emancipation was for a time at an end, the people returned to the obedience to which they had long been accustomed; but there was no one except the nobles around the court, and the ignorant lazzaroni, who retained their attachment to the crown, although, with the exception of two executions, the royalist party abstained from further bloodshed. On the part of the Austrians, their victory was used with wise moderation; their government had no wish to tyrannize over Naples, or to exasperate its inhabitants by needless cruelty; it only desired to arrest the progress of liberty; and it had done so effectually. The army of the invaders therefore displayed no brutality or unnecessary violence.

Yet the Austrians and the Neapolitans internally hated each other. Their natures were incompatible; and the conqueror was detested by the conquered, whom he in turn despised, for the careless vivacity of character which he could not appreciate.

But though the Neapolitans had been com-

pelled to submit to a foreign yoke, and, after the departure of the Austrians, were still kept in subjection by Swiss legions, which, in order to maintain its despotic rule, the government subsequently took into its pay, they never forgot the liberty they had for so brief a time enjoyed. The constitution they had won and lost was still the ardent desire of all well-educated and thinking men throughout the country.

Many distinguished advocates of freedom, disgusted with the political corruption and slavery of their native land, resided in foreign states, where thought could be freely exchanged without fear of spies, or of arrest, and there fully developed the mental powers which they hoped one day to be able to exert for the benefit of their country. Many more, restless and ill advised, made vain attempts, from time to time, to effect some change in the kingdom of Naples; and numbers, whose names will never be recorded, have, during the next quarter of a century, suffered for the failure of their patriotic attempts, in the galleys and prisons of Naples.

Frequent rebellions occurred in Sicily, but all ended by increasing the severity of oppression. But in Naples, no serious attempt was made to recover the lost constitution of 1820, till the year 1848, when a revolution occurred, the particulars of which we shall endeavour to relate in another chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

State of the country—Penal laws—Discontent in 1848, —Constitution—Abuses continue—Bad faith—Barbarisi—His interviews with the King.

After the suppression of the Neapolitan revolution of 1820, the liberals were pursued by the government with most unrelenting persecution. The year 1822 was an epoch when, without any hypocritical uncertainty or pretences, the Constitution was openly abolished, and, in defiance of all law, a system of terror was introduced, and the police assumed the power of arresting for public security, without assigning any other reason, than that it was done as a measure of police.

Nevertheless a penal law had been published in Naples in 1819, and another had existed from 1817, denouncing any arrest by a simple agent of police as an arbitrary arrest, criminal in he who ordered it, in he who executed it, and also in the guardian of any prison, who should receive a person thus arrested. Even the individual arrested by a measure of police, could not be kept by the police in any prison in Naples beyond the period of one month, nor in the provinces longer than two months, without a positive order from the Sovereign, passed through the hands of the Minister of Justice.

In the year 1833, this arbitrary power of arrest was nominally withdrawn from the police, but not in reality. Whenever suspicions of liberal opinions, or political disaffections, were entertained, men were hurried off to prison, without any reason being assigned, and society was so infested with spies, that each man was afraid even of uttering his sentiments on political subjects to his nearest relatives.

Even to read forbidden books was a crime;

and by writing any kind of work which was supposed to allude to public abuses, a man subjected himself either to banishment or a prison.

The customs were let to a company who, for their own profit, collected the duties in the most stringent and vexatious manner. Such a heavy tax was levied on native wine, when introduced into the city of Naples, that regular companies of smugglers were formed to pass it freely over the walls; so that a desperate class of men were thus created, who came daily into collision with the police, and were ready, at any time of political disturbance, to turn against the government.

The nobility had recovered their old feudal privileges; on some estates they retained even the right of life and death and many other territorial claims, which in the provinces frequently brought them into collision with the people, and fomented a spirit of discontent.

Trade languished; a scarcity more than once prevailed in the following years, and a spirit of discontent gained ground rapidly, even in the

army, where a great jealousy was felt of the Swiss regiments, who were better paid than those of the line, and had evidently more confidence reposed in them by the King than was placed in the Neapolitan troops.

A system of plunder, carried on by all the officials of the government, aroused the indignation of the citizens, and the soldiers were equally enraged by the effrontery with which they were plundered by their officers.

For more than twenty years the Neapolitan people suffered all these various hardships without recurring to arms, or breaking out into open insurrection. But the Sicilians were less patient. The expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland was followed by a rebellion in Sicily. The Neapolitans availed themselves of this occasion, to appeal to the government for the redress of the grievances, which had at length become almost intolerable.

The discontent in the kingdom of Naples was expressed in the capital by an immense assemblage of the people, who, in a pacific

manner, gathered in front of the palace, and demanded the redress of the public grievances.

From the year 1821 to 1847, those grievances and abuses had so enormously multiplied, that men of all classes desired a change; but a change by means, as they expressed it, of the reigning prince.

As Settembrini says in his defence, they "desired a government with just laws, rigorously observed by all, without distinction. Call the government by what name you please, that is of little consequence; but laws instead of arbitrary will—laws instead of parties. In past years, we had not many good laws, and the few we had were violated and upset by arbitrary will! from hence so many evils have arisen, so much discontent, and so many disturbances."

On the day of this demonstration, the twenty-seventh of January, 1848, General Statella, the Commandant of Naples, acquainted his Majesty with what had taken place; and informed him, that thousands of men were assembled in the Largo della Carita, who cried, "Long live the

King, and long live the constitution which he will grant us!"

His Majesty received the most exact information as to the wishes and sentiments of his people, and decided that the time was come to comply with their demands; and two days afterwards, he gave his word that the constitution should be speedily proclaimed.

This engagement at once raised Ferdinand, in the estimation of his people, to the rank of the greatest benefactor of his country; and it is impossible that he can have forgotten the joy which was universally expressed by his grateful subjects on the twenty-ninth of January. It was expected after this, that a personal reform of the magistracy would have been one of the first steps towards the amendment of abuses; but instead of that, even before the publication of the constitution, as if in defiance of every promise, a promotion and most advantageous changes were made amongst the judges,* to attach these officials to the royalist party. The country was much disturbed, and the minister highly blamed for this measure.

On the tenth of February the constitution was proclaimed, and a grand public fête was given in celebration of it.

The old laws remained for the time in full force, but a check was put upon the arbitrary will of the sovereign, which had frequently set them at defiance, by the creation of a chamber of deputies and chamber of peers; the former was to consist of one hundred and sixty-four members, to be chosen by the nation every five years. The members were required to possess a qualification of two hundred and forty ducats per annum.

The chamber of peers was to be a high court of justice for the trial of members of both the chambers, when accused of high treason, or attempts against the safety of the state.

Some of the old Neapolitan laws were wise and just, but had been little observed since 1822. It was the object of the liberal party to bring these into full activity, and to make the government responsible for their execution. The rights of the people and the prerogatives

of the crown were therefore clearly defined in the new constitution of 1820, which was that demanded by the nation. That published by order of the King, on the tenth of February, 1848, probably in some measure differed from it, as one of the most honest advisers of the crown, Saverio Barbarisi, gives it as his opinion that the compiler of it had yielded a little too much to the prevailing French ideas of the day; thus giving evidence of the anti-republican feelings of the Neapolitan liberals!

These men, in fact, considered that the Italian states could only permanently be reformed, and endowed with a moderate and wise freedom, by their own princes, who must also form an Italian federal congress, where the nationality of Italy might be represented, and maintained in independence by a political confederation. An extreme party murmured against the peers and their old feudal privileges; in support of which, they were in general supposed to be the advocates of all the arbitrary acts of the crown, and the cry of "Down with the peers!" was fre-

quently heard in conjunction with that of "Long live the Constitution!"

It was the anxious desire of all enlightened and honest men, to introduce a new principle into the government, by preserving the most scrupulous legality, by abolishing the fearful machinery of the old police system, under which, by means of corruption and mystery, the greatest iniquities had been committed, and getting rid of the selfish influence of a host of unprincipled officials, and the meddling with men's consciences, both religiously and politically, which is the most dangerous of all tyranny.

These rational defenders of freedom called themselves the Constitutionalists. At their head was Poerio, who, after the publication of the constitution, was called to the councils of the king.

A distinguished member of the bar, he had been from his youth the most devoted friend of liberty; he had been three times imprisoned, in consequence of political accusations; but the frankness and purity of his character were so

great, that even Del Carretto, whose name, as Minister of Police, has long been the detestation and terror of the Neapolitans, was compelled to absolve him from the ridiculous charges brought against him prior to 1848. The other leaders of the constitutional party were, with some exceptions, lawyers; honest, moderate, and humane men, who abhorring violent measures, sincerely desired the welfare of their country, and the maintenance of the throne, by the power of which they believed that salutary and durable reforms could alone be effected in the state, without foreign interference; of which all Italians have a strong detestation, whether that interference be for their oppression, or the support of liberal principles.

From the year 1828 to 1848, the whole Neapolitan nation had groaned under the most fearful oppression. The crowd of public functionaries far exceeded the affairs of the kingdom; yet all these abject slaves of the government were not only paid from the taxes wrung from the industrious classes of the people, and the

landed proprietors, but were permitted to plunder whenever they found occasion. The administrators of the law thought much more of the advantages to be derived from their posts, than of fulfilling the duties attached to them. Gain was the first object with all public officers, and equally so with the directors of all public institutions; ease and pleasure the second. If complaints were occasionally made of neglect or injustice, in a manner which commanded attention, an agitation took place for a few days, a show of doing something was made, and then things sent back into the old train, and went on as badly as before.

But the fearful abuse of the power of the police, the vile corruption of the inferior officers attached to its service, the inquisition, even into the most secret family affairs, which it exercised over the whole country by means of its spies, its arbitrary arrests, by which hundreds of innocent men had for years been thrown into the dungeons of Naples, at the bidding of the vilest informers, and the sense of personal insecurity,

so long as such an institution continued under the protection of the King, to set at defiance all the laws of the land, awoke the loudest complaints throughout the whole kingdom. The enormous abuses of the police had rendered the very name of its agents detested by the people. Hated and even menaced by those whom they had long oppressed, this detestable class had long lost all moral power, and were utterly incompetent, after the proclamation of the constitution, to maintain the tranquillity of the city.

The public murmurs against existing abuses became louder and louder, when the people found, that though the King had granted a constitution, in compliance with their demands, no further measures of reform were taken.

All paid officials, who feared poverty if dismissed from their employments, and innumerable agents of the police who had no other means of existence, and who dreaded punishment for former excesses, became, for the time, the greatest hypocrites; and in order to please

the people, affected the most ardent devotion to the new constitution, both in public and private. Every body was suddenly constitutional, except some of the worst officials, who, nevertheless, were permitted by the government to retain their posts, without any change of conduct, though known to be secretly opposed to the new order of things.

In the meantime, honest men who had contributed to bring about the revolution, though willing to forget past injuries, and to be reconciled to their enemies, became disgusted with the course which public events were taking, and finding that they were unfitted for the times, declined to take office, and no doubt injured the cause of political progress, by leaving its enemies in the undisputed possession of all public employments.

But when the people saw the corrupt and unprincipled creatures of the government retained in office, they loudly expressed their displeasure, at proceedings in direct opposition to all their reasonable expectations.

But scarcely anything was done to appease this discontent, and the indignation of the multitude broke out into acts of violence against several of the most obnoxious functionaries, and a cry of "Down with them!" was frequently raised in the streets.

The news of the French revolution, and of the insurrection in Upper Italy, deprived the royalist party of the hope of foreign intervention, in support of the King; and they felt that by exciting disorders and disturbances in the country, and finally throwing it into a state of anarchy, they could alone hope to obtain a return to an absolute government.

All men, whose interests were menaced by constitutional changes, or whose feelings were irritated against the popular excitement, began to organize a reaction; and these malicious enemies of the national welfare exerted their utmost endeavours to excite mistrust between the soldiers and the people.

Secret, as well as public clubs were formed, and men known previously as spies of the police

took a prominent part in these assemblies, evidently with the intention of exciting disturbances, or drawing in other men, whom they might afterwards accuse.

A half-crazy democrat, named Mauro, who had, before the constitution was proclaimed, been imprisoned for political offences, announced himself as a martyr of the good cause, and held violent inflammatory discourses in the Caffé di Buono. Others, who were known to be agents of the retrograde party, followed his example in the same strain. They soon drew around them an audience of idle youths, of wild republicans, and agents of the old police, and even public officials, who pretended to be ultra and ardent liberals.

It is remarkable that the minister of the interior, the Chevalier Bozzelli, took no measures whatever to put down the seditious practices either of royalists or republicans, or to maintain the public peace. He seemed wilfully blind to the proceedings of the conflicting parties throughout the kingdom; and when he heard any opi-

nion expressed which displeased him, the utmost he ever said, was, "Ah! that comes from the Caffé di Buono."

And this minister Bozzelli, whose inefficient and negligent conduct previous to the fifteenth of May, not only degraded his office, but dishonoured the King himself, when recalled to office, after that day, displayed the fiercest and most cruel energy against the popular cause.

One of the first consequences of the revolution had been the banishment of the Jesuits from the kingdom of Naples.

Education, which had been entirely in their hands, was now to be conducted on different principles, and a committee was formed for considering the reform of the educational system of the kingdom of Naples, and liberal-minded, enlightened men were appointed professors of the different schools, the liberals wisely discerning that the future maintenance of liberty, and the welfare of their country, depended on the judicious training of the rising generation.

Not many weeks had passed before it was

generally known, that though the constitution had been proclaimed in the name of the Trinity and unity, and that Ferdinand had publicly declared that he would hold it inviolate, yet that an infamous propaganda existed in the country, for the purpose of subverting it by their intrigues. Promises of pecuniary assistance were made to the advocates of despotism, and they were prepared to expect both assistance and support, should they finally resort to violence.

The nobility, with the exception of a few enlightened men, officials of every class except that of the honest citizen, and the whole of the infamous satellites of the police, demons of intrigue and corruption, were believed to be united in one dark conspiracy against the freedom of their country. The ministry were said to encourage it.

Thus supported, the reactionary party daily acquired strength, and left no means unessayed to produce dissensions between the king and the nation. To the people they accused the king of bad faith, and to the king they represented that he

was hated by the people, who desired further political innovations, and more republican institutions, than it could ever be consistent with his safety to grant.

In truth, the people had many reasons for mistrust. None of the abuses of the government were reformed; it was remarked, that every one in office employed only his friends or his relations, and no steps were taken to purify the administration of justice. Public indignation was aroused by the procrastination of a declaration of war against Austria, and by the tardy manner in which the government performed its promise of sending an army to the assistance of the Italian cause in Lombardy. Though fourteen thousand men, under the command of General Pepe, were finally sent from Naples to the north of Italy, and a fleet into the Adriatic, many circumstances tended to excite doubts of the sincerity of these demonstrations, and it was strongly suspected that Ferdinand was the secret friend and ally of Austria.

It could scarcely indeed be expected that the

Neapolitan people should repose confidence in their sovereign, when it became known that the former minister of police, Del Carretto, whose name was covered with infamy, that Campobossa, Morillo, Padre Cocle, and Santangelo, all equally and justly detested by the nation, still received their full salaries, the wages of assassinations, spoliations, treason and corruption; that Del Carretto was not only at Naples, but had slept at the Palace, and, with several other men of a similar stamp, kept up a constant correspondence with the king.

All this was asserted in a proclamation issued in the name of the Supreme Magistracy of the kingdom, on the ninth of May, 1848, by a party who disapproved of the credulity and moderate measures of the constitutionalists.

In order to allay the agitation thus studiously fomented by the enemies of freedom, the most influential men of the constitutional party held a meeting, and agreed that to reassure the capital, when so many reports were in circulation, it was necessary to lend every possible support,

both morally and materially, to the government. It appears, that they at that time placed full reliance on its sincerity, and proposed that a committee of police should be endowed with full powers, to re-establish tranquillity by watching over the intrigues of the reactionists, and disconcerting their designs.

But Bozzelli had very different intentions, and paid no further attention to the recommendation of the liberals, than by nominating Saverio Barbarisi, one of their party, to be a commissary of police.

This truly worthy man, who was then seventy years of age, and distinguished by his probity and abilities, only accepted such an office, which he considered beneath his dignity and unsuitable to his age and circumstances, from the desire to be of public service. He received no salary, and was determined to resign, after the elections for the chamber were over.

In this situation, he had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with the enormous abuses of the ancient police, and was soon con-

vinced, that as this institution had lost all power to maintain public order, it would be advisable, that the most esteemed citizens of different quarters of the city should form committees, to watch over public order and safety. But though he recommended this plan to the government, no attention was paid to his suggestion.

But, however great was the excitement throughout the country, it is the opinion of men well acquainted with all that then occurred, that the love of the constitutional monarchy was almost universal; and they assert, that not a single voice was even heard against the monarchy, and all that was demanded were forms with regard to the elections, and changes with regard to the chamber of peers, so that the legislature should not be only in the hands of the rich, but should embrace abilities in every class. Had the government of Naples honestly co-operated with the liberals, it might, with little difficulty, have prevented disorders, and maintained the constitution, to which it had solemnly sworn.

Saverio Barbarisi, in his written defence,

relates, that after the proclamation of the constitution, he had several interviews with the King, who received him graciously, called him his old friend, and desired him to come often to the palace.

"Don Saverio," said his majesty at another time, "this is your house, open to you at all times, and I shall be positively displeased if you do not come every day."

"I humbly returned thanks for this royal kindness," proceeds the old man, "and humbly replied, 'I will attend your majesty whenever the interest of the country and that of your majesty require it.'

"I had an opportunity," he adds, "of suggesting to his majesty, that the punishment of death ought to be done away with, more particularly for political offences. His majesty agreed with me, and I gave him my benediction; his majesty frequently spoke to me of Carlo Poerio, as the best and most virtuous of men, and the most devoted of his subjects; whilst to Poerio, he spoke of me in the same flat-

tering manner: yet nevertheless Poerio is now in chains, and I am expecting my condemnation."

At length even this honest man began to have suspicions that King Ferdinand was playing a double part; and when he found that all his accounts of the progressing anarchy, and his suggestions for its suppression, remained alike unattended to, by his majesty and his government, he thought it his duty to repeat to his royal master the doubts of his sincerity, which he had frequently heard asserted, and which were rapidly gaining ground throughout the kingdom.

As if to give another proof of his unprincipled hypocrisy, "Ferdinand, full of just indignation," as the old man expresses it in his narrative, "raising his arms with all his strength, and turning his eyes from me to heaven, said to me in animated words, 'Don Saverio, I have sworn to the constitution, and I will maintain it. If I had not wished to give it, I would not have given it.' I then said that I confided in my

king as in my God; and in good truth, I was so touched by his transports in favour of the constitution, that I could see nothing but sincerity and good intentions."

At no remote period, this honest and confiding old man was to be wofully undeceived by the acts of the sovereign himself, to whose words he so readily lent credence, and whose perjury, as a faithful subject, he was unwilling to suspect.

That there were men in Naples of more energetic character, and better aware of the position of the liberals, and the character of the men with whom they had to deal, we cannot doubt, when we read the following words, forming part of a proclamation, which was issued on the ninth of May.

"Citizens, are you not yet convinced of the frauds and deceits of our tyrannical government? do you not perceive that the most profound despotism is spreading its roots, under the deceptive shadow of a constitution, fashioned for no other purpose, by crafty ministers, who are the betrayers of their country? An infamous

Propaganda exists in the kingdom, whose emissaries excite, with promises and money, the despotic and royalist party to be ready for your destruction. The great, who aspire to the peerage, belong, to a man, to this conspiracy against your country, as the only way to recover their ancient dominion. Remember the torture and the murders of feudalism—citizens, beware of the prisons, the exile, the axe, the gallows, the pitiless and barbarous death; the gifts which tyranny offers you, in return for your patience.

"No! by heaven! expect no mercy from a tyrant accustomed to massacres and cruelty. In 1820, we had the highest respect, veneration, and sincere love for Ferdinand IV.; and he deceived us, like a father, who, whilst embracing his offspring, is planning deceit and perjury, and afterwards made the most tremendous slaughter and massacre of his subjects. Citizens, the blood of our murdered brethren calls for vengeance. To arms, in the name of God and the great precursor of Christ, John the Baptist! To arms! save your country, save your

lives, save the honour of your families, save your property, save the holy religion which you profess! too long abused by despotism and superstition!"

Those by whom this proclamation was issued, and who call themselves the supreme magistracy of the kingdom, then proceed to explain, that a sacred legion has been formed for the salvation of the country and its religion, and publishes the provisional laws by which it is to be governed, to prevent anarchy and socialism. It asserts that mere verbal demonstrations of the people are insufficient to induce the King to act for the good of the nation, and demands the constitution of 1820, upon a wider base, and the abolition of the peerage, denouncing the constitution of the tenth of February as a solemn deception, to illude the wishes of the nation, by false hopes of emancipation, whilst they were ruled by the same tyrants, the same laws written in blood, and the same despotism.

With a clear presentiment of the sufferings which awaited the liberals, if they persisted to place confidence in the King, and to rely on

him for the the support of their legal and moderate measures of reform, the proclamation concludes thus: "Remember the massacres o the years 1816, 1821, and 1828. A butcher may become horrified by the sight of blood—but wherefore? To sell us perhaps like beasts, to cultivate as slaves the lands of America? perhaps to be driven from our homes and robbed of all our possessions? possibly to excite the anxiety of despotism, and exasperate it more against us!

"But to arms! save our country—save our honour—save our lives, which are every moment menaced; the danger is imminent, and there is no time to lose."

The laws given in this proclamation for the direction of public affairs, were too wise, and its accusations against the government too well founded, for it to have been the work of the reactionists, merely to excite disturbances. It no doubt emanated from an ultra liberal party, who perfectly understood the royalists with whom they had to deal, but whose

efforts to shake off the hypocritical tyranny of Ferdinand were, no doubt, rendered ineffectual by the moderation of the liberals in authority; and it may yet perhaps be well that these good men fell a sacrifice to their just and conscientious principles, thus proving to all Europe the impossibility of placing further confidence in a sovereign, who, utterly devoid both of honesty and humanity, made the most solemn engagements, only to gain time, and to beguile honest and confiding men to ruin.

CHAPTER IX.

The New Ministry—Assembling of Parliament—Barricades—Events of the Fifteenth of May.

SOMEWHAT previous to the proclamation we have quoted in the last chapter, the minister Bozzelli was compelled to resign, and withdrew from office under the universal malediction of the people.

On the 3rd of April, Carlo Troya, to the great annoyance of the government, was made president of the ministry in his place. His first act was to announce that he only accepted office on condition that the power of the king and the legislative chamber, to modify the con-

stitution, especially as regarded the chamber of peers, was positively admitted.

The programme of the new ministry, which was approved by the king, decided that the elections of the new deputies should take place as soon as possible, according to the existing law, that men exercising any respectable profession, either in science, trade, or literature, industry, or the fine arts, might be either electors, or candidates, without a property qualification. Each electoral college was required to give in the names of the peers thought most worthy of taking a place in the chambers, so that from these notes the king might make a choice of fifty, to form a chamber, as representatives of their order.

The new minister also required, that diplomatic agents should be immediately sent to cement a league with the other states of Italy. That a large body of troops should be placed at the disposition of the Italian League, to oppose the Austrians, and that a regiment should be despatched immediately to Lombardy, by sea.

That the national guard should be promptly armed throughout the whole kingdom of Naples, was also determined by the liberals.

These measures were most distasteful to the crown, and in a paper, subsequently published by the order of the king, as a justification of his tyrannical subversion of the constitution he had granted, the demands of the ministers are stigmatised as democratical, and as an insidious effort of factious men to subvert the monarchy, by asserting that the king and the chamber of deputies had the power of changing the constitution, as regarded the chamber of peers. A strange accusation to be made by the sovereign, who in little more than a month afterwards assumed the power to himself of suppressing the constitution altogether, in defence of the monarchy.

Aurelio Saliceti retired from office at the same time with Bozzelli. Whilst minister of justice, he had been desirous of reforming the various branches of the administration with which he was connected, and had made some attempts

the kind, which, though they did little good, sufficed to alarm the judges and other functionaries, and to provoke their enmity, so that even after he withdrew from the ministry, he was persecuted and menaced. In consequence of the alarm he had excited in the different courts of justice, the magistrates, who had previously remained neuter in political affairs, became the most virulent reactionists.

They were well aware that all their violence and corruption would be supported by the government; for it was notorious in Naples, that the king detested reform, and that secret meetings were held in the palace, where the faction of the extreme royalists, several commissaries of police and their creatures, military men, and other individuals, conspired for the destruction of the constitution.

The new ministry, with Troya at their head, was composed entirely of honest and well meaning, moderate men, who were little calculated to cope with such intrigues and unprincipled deceit. Neither had they any power to enable them to

destroy an organized reaction, or to resist the strength of an army which the will of the king could at any moment turn against them.

The national guard could alone be expected to defend the sovereignty of the people, should any open conflict break out between the liberals and the reactionists; but the intrigues of the government had introduced many of its worthless creatures into the ranks of this popular force, so as to be ready to promote confusion and disunion, should it ever be called into action.

This was so well known, that it had been proposed by the extreme democrats, to form a select legion from the whole national guard, of men who were true to the constitution; and if the others, who were traitors to the cause, refused to lay down their arms, to shoot them without delay.

But the ministry abhorred the idea of all such strong measures; and, though other men saw clearly the precipice on which they stood, and warning murmurs of impatient discontent sounded from every corner of the kingdom, they per-

sisted in relying on the efficacy of strictly legal measures, to secure the success of their principles, and blindly trusted in the sincerity of the king, when all other men were perfectly convinced of his deceit.

Acting apparently in concord with a ministry which, in his defence, is asserted to have attained power by the insidious snares of the demagogues, the king, on the seventh of April, published a proclamation calculated to make men believe that he sympathized with the Italian patriots who desired a war with Austria, and the independence of the peninsula. He allowed young men, who were going to form a battalion of volunteers in Lombardy, to be presented to him; he received them with the greatest complacency, and granted all their wishes, supplying them with arms, and clothes, and money; yet such of these poor youths as escaped the bullets of the Austrians, are now imprisoned in their native land, like the vilest malefactors.

The national excitement had reached a great

height, before the time appointed for the elections arrived; but the liberals succeeded in preventing the discontented having recourse to arms, by persuading them that the wisest course would be to petition the assembled chambers, and thus make known their grievances, which might then be legally redressed.

Neither the intrigues of the royalists, nor the foolish demonstrations of the misguided frequenters of the Caffé di Buono, disturbed the public peace, and the elections throughout the whole country were concluded with the utmost tranquillity. 125,000 electors assembled to choose their representatives for the new chamber without the slightest confusion or disorder.

This solemn testimony to the political maturity of the Neapolitans, this imposing concourse of electors, and their extraordinary tranquillity, ought to have checked the intrigues of the royalists; but on the contrary, after this event, they were continued with increased vigour.

There is evidence to prove, that plans were formed in a secret assembly which could com-

mand the assistance of many thousand men, for the complete subversion of the constitution, and the establishment of despotism in its stead. Attempts were made to seduce some of the new deputies to join the conspiracy, and such startling facts came to the knowledge of Barbarisi, that he thought it necessary for the public safety to demand an interview with the king, to inform him of the plot he had discovered. But he was refused admission.

He applied to the ministers, who agreed to take energetic measures for the suppression of anarchy—but still nothing was done.

As the opening of the Chambers approached, all kinds of reports were in circulation in the city of Naples. Good men were full of anxiety, but still it was the general opinion that the chambers were to put an end to every evil; it was therefore of the greatest importance to the reactionary party to prevent the assembly of the members, and the tranquil exercise of their legal functions. But when they found it was likely they would fail in that object, it was

no doubt decided to create disturbances, in order to have an excuse for calling out the troops, dispersing the house of representatives by force, and suspending the constitution.

On the 12th of May, 1848, a circular printed letter was sent round to the Deputies in Naples, inviting them to appear on the following day at the municipal palace of Montediveto, the principal hall of which had been assigned for their preparatory sitting.

On the morning of the 13th, above a hundred members accordingly assembled at the appointed place, and each one received a tally, sent by the Minister of the Home Department, as an introduction.

The only subject discussed was the arrangements for the solemn opening of the Chambers on the following day. This business not being settled that evening, it was resolved to meet again on the following day, to bring it to a conclusion.

It was intimated to the Chambers, that a deputation of ten members should be chosen to

receive the king in solemn state, at the door of the church of San Lorenzo, and that the peers and deputies should take an oath in a prescribed form.

On the 14th, there was again a large assembly in the Chambers, which, as on the previous day, was guarded by a detachment of the National Guard, whose flag floated above the building. The proposed form of oath occasioned much discussion; and it was decided to send a deputation to the ministers, to state that the Chamber considered it impossible to swear the oath in its present form, and to request its modification, so as no longer to be inconsistent with their position as members of the Legislative Assembly, and the concessions granted by the king on the 5th of April.

The Chamber believed that it possessed the right to discuss the ministerial form of oath, and to demand its modification, although its members have since been charged with this as an act of high treason.

The communications with the ministers for

the arrangement of this disagreement were prolonged till a late hour. The government finally resolved that for the time no form of oath could be given, and advised the deputies to return to their own houses for the night. The Chamber of Peers agreed with the Lower Chamber in its views; but as the king still refused to agree to their joint proposition, another deputation was sent to the palace. The Chamber remained sitting, and the return of these gentlemen was expected, when at midnigh sudden clamour arose in the streets, and an officer of the guard rushed into the hall of assembly, and announced that the troops were marching from their barracks, and menacing the national guard, who, in self-defence, were erecting barricades.

The surprise and indignation in the Chamber was universal. Members exclaimed that the peaceful discussion of the oath was no concern of the national guard, and that the menaces of the soldiers of the line must be a mere imagination. They conjured the officer to preserve the public peace, and to put an end to any hostile

demonstrations. Gabriel Pepe, the commander of the national guard, was sent immediately to endeavour to restore order, and other influential men left the Chambers with the same object.

These soon returned with the intelligence that barricades had been raised by unknown agitators and a few of the undisciplined national guard, by whom they had been abused and menaced.

There has been strong evidence adduced since then, to prove that these disturbances were the work of the government, to afford a pretext for the dissolution of the Chambers by force of arms. It is asserted that a commissary of police named Merenda, his sons, another fellow whose business it was to provoke political offences, and then turn informer, and almost all the spies of the police, took a great part in the erection of the barricades. All these men have been pardoned, and many accepted as witnesses against the deputies accused of high treason. Merenda denied that his sons had fired the first shots, and asserted that it was a servant of his

Highness the Prince of Salerno who did so, and protested that he had nothing to do with the barricades, but had been all those days smoking cigars with the husband of the Queen-mother, in the palace.

Merenda was, soon after the events of the fifteenth of May, promoted to be Secretary-General of the Prefecture, and was made a knight of some Neapolitan order.

A priest named Leonardo Covelli, imprisoned in 1849, in San Francesco, recounted that he had assisted to construct and defend the barricades, and that he had done so, being employed and having a written authority from the said Merenda, then Commissary of Police.

It was asserted* some days afterwards, in the house of the Duca di Salondra, that the whole affair had been prepared by the old police, with the knowledge of the king, who consequently pardoned the prisoners, and only commenced a prosecution against the members of the chambers,

* See the defence of Lorenzo Socavelli.

falsely accused of assisting at the barricades, more than a year afterwards.

It is also proved that the disturbances had been previously intended to take place, by the fact that the Marchese Sersale, who, with other gentlemen, had been chosen to assist at the reception of the royal family, in the church of San Lorenzo, on the morning of the fifteenth of May, received, on the evening of the fourteenth, a counter order, which announced that no ceremony would take place on the following morning.

The night of the fourteenth of May, many of the deputies remained in the hall of assembly till near the dawn of day; whilst others, going into the tumultuous city, used the utmost exertion to allay the disturbances, and prevent further bloodshed.

During that night two circumstances occurred which suffice to prove how entirely the deputies disapproved of the insurrection. A French officer in uniform was introduced into the hall of assembly by one of the national guard, who

said that he was sent from the fleet then stationed in the port, to offer assistance to the parliament. He received for answer that a perfect understanding existed between the deputies and their government, nor did they desire that it should be disturbed by the interference of strangers.

With the same blind confidence, they returned, unopened, an intercepted letter from the commander of a military post to the commissary of war; and when requested by the government to assist in persuading the people to remove the barricades, in order to make way for the ceremony on the following day, they at once accepted the task.

During all that night the drums never ceased to sound in the city of Naples, the greater part of whose inhabitants were ignorant of the cause of the commotion. The erection of barricades continued with increased ardour, and the cry was raised, "The country is in danger, help your brothers!" Large ditches were dug in the Toledo, to impede the movement of the troops,

and of the artillery, and many other of the principal streets were rendered totally impassable.

Had the liberal members who composed the majority of the Chamber, acted with promptitude and energy, instead of carrying on a useless negotiation with the king about the form of an oath he never meant that they should swear—had they commanded the drums to be beaten in the streets, calling the citizens to arms, issued a short proclamation, and assumed the command of the twenty thousand national guards, they might have made themselves masters of the movement, If the parliament had appointed a commander-in-chief, and declared their own authority supreme, the national guards, no longer wavering between the two parties, would, united with the people, have assumed a position which would have sufficed to awe both the king and his soldiers.

At ten o'clock on the fifteenth of May, the hall of assembly was crowded, and the city was in a state of fearful confusion and excitement, Whilst the deputies were waiting further com-

munication from the palace, scattered gun-shots were heard, then a discharge in file, and then the thunder of the artillery, from all the fortresses announced that the enemies of freedom had commenced a fearful struggle with the inhabitants of Naples.

The battle continued to be waged furiously, in the streets, and the deputies were in a state of tumult, which was every moment increased by the national guards, who rushed in amongst them to recount the progress of the battle, and to show the cannon balls, still warm, which had been fired by the king's troops against the people.

All day the combat continued with the most fearful slaughter; and when the Neapolitan troops were found insufficient to vanquish their countrymen, the Swiss regiments, consisting of ten thousand men, were summoned to complete the massacre. All Europe has heard with horror of the atrocities which were committed in Naples on that terrible day.

A great mass of the people, more warlike

than their representatives, and better aware of the despotism and persecution which would follow their defeat, resisted the troops of the government most courageously. Men of all ages fell in crowds, fighting bravely for the liberty of their country. Youths died by the side of their fathers, and fathers fell before the eyes of their sons. We know a professor in one of the public schools of Naples, who saw six of his pupils killed in cold blood by the Swiss soldiers.

Palaces were set on fire, where no resistance was made; and when the fighting ceased, the work of plunder and brutal devastation and wanton murder began. Neither age nor sex, neither human life nor property was spared.

The government of Naples has since asserted in its justification that these enormities were committed by the soldiers without the command of their officers, in the blind fury of excitement. But such was not the fact. Barbarisi asserts that the artillery was directed by the commanders of the detachment, and that General

Nunziante, at the head of a regiment, posted in front of Montidiveto, himself sent in the name of the king, to order the deputies to withdraw. He denies the assertion of Prince Cariati, the president of the ministers, that the soldiers, no longer attending to the voice of their officers, acted according to their own pleasure. They, on the contrary, in all they did, only obeyed the commands of their superiors, and were rewarded for their prowess on that disgraceful day, by promotion, by medals, and by orders.

The King of Naples, like many other tyrants, wished to secure obedience and tranquillity for the future, by giving his beloved people, and especially the partisans of constitutional monarchy, a sharp and salutary lesson.

The acts of his government have subsequently proved that such was the object for which he had filled the capital of his kingdom with carnage and desolation.

Yet even on that fatal day, he recognized the chambers, by announcing to them that the ceremony of their inauguration at the church of San Lorenzo would not take place.

Every hour increased the danger of the constitutional cause, and at length, a committee of public safety was hastily named in the Chamber of Deputies, and messengers sent to the admiral of the French fleet, to request him to intercede with the king, to put an end to the carnage in the city. But it was too late; the royal troops were everywhere triumphant at the close of day, and then, at length, the firing ceased, when there was no longer an enemy to destroy.

The following anecdote, related by one of the deputies, will serve to give an idea of their position during that fearful day.*

"The firing continued till late," he writes, "and I, half dead with hunger, and sleep, and being devoured with thirst, begged some of the attendants to procure me a little water. But no one would comply with my wish, all fearing to be killed in the court of the palace Montediveto, where the well was. But my thirst was so great, that I thought not of danger; I descended into

* See Atti e Documenti, &c.—Torino, 1851.

this court, and although some bullets hit the iron railings, I drew a bucket of water, drank at my pleasure, and having again filled it, carried it, for the use of myself and others, into the antechamber preceding the hall of assembly."

Sixty-four members still remained there, at the head of whom was their president, a man of eighty years of age, who had distinguished himself by his courage and resolution, during the whole conflict. They drew up a solemn protest against the violence exercised by the king, and declared their intention not to separate till forced by actual violence to do so.

This resolution had been scarcely adopted, when a great clamour suddenly arose without; an officer entered the hall and informed the deputies, in the name of the king, that they must disperse without further delay.

In reply to this sudden intimation, the old president commanded him to retire, whilst the parliament deliberated how to act. He ordered him almost immediately afterwards to be recalled, communicated to him the protest which had

been drawn up, and declared the parliament suspended.

From the twenty-ninth of January, when the king engaged to grant a constitution to his people, it had been the sole object of the royalist party to regain the ground they had lost, and to recover their supremacy,. They waited an opportunity for a *coup d'etât*, and prepared it on the fifteenth of May.

The whole proceeding of these men was a continual conspiracy against the compact with his people, which the king had sworn to observe. The proofs of this are now manifold.

If the constitution of the tenth of February had been maintained, if the army sent to the war of independence had not been recalled, if the laws of the country had been observed, if unjust and arbitrary condemnations had not been pronounced against hundreds of persons who are now in chains, in dungeons, in the galleys, or in the penal islands—if to support the constitution had not been regarded and punished as a crime, if rewards and favours had not been

given to the ruffians, who assisted to abolish it, there might be some doubt as to the authors of the disorders of the fifteenth of May.

But the constitution set aside since that day, though still existing, Italy made the slave of foreigners, and its princes humiliated, leave no doubt that the reactionists have been, with premeditation, the destroyers of Neapolitan liberty.

Mancini justly observes, that on the twenty-ninth of January, 1848, the kingdom of Naples suddenly passed from the most abject slavery to the most complete freedom. The most despotic and stupid censorship of the press was at once replaced by a license without bounds. Yet no laws were made—no measures were taken to direct the country wisely in the first use of freedom. A people who had been treated as slaves for twenty-seven years of sabreings, of shootings, of arrests, of bombardments, of spies, and persecutions; a people whose guardians and instructors had been Monsignore Cocle, the king's confessor, Father Curci, and the Marchese del Carretto, Minister of Police, and others of

the same stamp, were at once declared free, without the restraint of law, and with a government which fomented anarchy for its own purposes.

It was in vain that honest men like Carlo Troya and Carlo Poerio were called to the councils of the crown, when the evil had already become incurable, and when they were provided with no means to maintain order, or to check the reaction at the commencement.

When one of the ministers wished to repress a slight tumult, they were told by a noble personage, to let the mob cook themselves in their own oil!

From an unrestrained and licentious press, and from the continual anarchy and perpetual tumults of the mob, which were never interfered with or repressed, a return to despotism was the only result that could be expected.

The government, in its defence of the horrible massacre of the fifteenth of May, asserts that the conflict was the work of a few factious promoters of disorder; but if that were the case, why were they not sooner arrested or dispersed,

and the constitution defended, before it became necessary to turn the cannons of the fortresses against the city, and to employ an army of 14,000 mercenaries, to murder and pillage the innocent citizens, and fill the streets of Naples with blood and death? The constitution was a compact between the king and his people; and if a *few factious men* violated this contract, the king is not released, by their insubordination, from the obligations he accepted, and the solemn oath he swore. Yet this, in Naples, is now made the infamous plea for the destruction of public and private liberty.

CHAPTER IX.

Parliament dissolved—State of siege—Proclamation—Persecutions—Second parliament dissolved—Grand Criminal Court.

THE first act of the king after his victory, was to dismiss his liberal ministry, and to recall the unscrupulous Bozzelli to the place he had formerly occupied. But he was no longer slothful and apathetic, but zealously aided his royal master in the destruction of the last traces of freedom.

The parliament was immediately dissolved by the advice of this man, who was indignant that he had not been elected a member, and that any

attempt had been made to alter the constitution which he had had some share in composing when he professed somewhat liberal principles.

The city of Naples and its environs were declared in a state of siege; and a special commission was appointed to inquire into the origin of the events of the fifteenth of May, although the day after the conflict six hundred persons taken with arms in their hands were all released; and the king published a proclamation on the twenty-fourth of May, of which we shall give a copy:—

"NEAPOLITANS,

"Profoundly grieved by the horrible events of the fifteenth of May, it is our most ardent desire to mollify the consequences of them as much as is possible. Our most firm and immutable desire is, to maintain the constitution of the tenth of February pure and unstained by any kind of excess. This being the only one compatible with the real and existing wants of this part of Italy, shall be the sacred ark on which the destiny of our beloved people, and of

our own crown, ought to be reposed. The legislative chambers shall be shortly reconvoked, and the wisdom, the firmness, and the prudence which we expect from them will assist us vigorously in all the departments of public business which have need of wise and useful reforms. Return, therefore, to your accustomed occupations. Confide to the utmost in our honesty, our religion, and in our sacred and spontaneous oath, and live in the fullest assurance that the most interesting occupation of our mind is to abolish, as soon as possible, both the exceptional and transitory position in which we find ourselves, and, as far as possible, the remembrance of the sad misfortunes which have happened here.

"(Signed) FERDINAND."

This proclamation, and certain expressions used by the minister and authorised by the king, were accepted by many men as a pardon for all connected with the disturbances. But Barbarisi nevertheless frequently represented to the minister, Lougobardi, the necessity of a positive am-

nesty being granted. But the decree, though said to be drawn up, never appeared; and the minister, wearied at length by the old man's pressing instances, said, impatiently,—"I am not Ferdinand II.; what do you want from me?" The Jesuits, who had been obliged to quit the kingdom, were speedily restored to their former habitations, and education was once more committed entirely to their direction.

We are at a loss to understand why the king thought it necessary again to convoke the chambers which were re-elected and met in July, and were again dissolved on the thirteenth of March, 1849.

During this period, the army, which had been victorious over the liberal party, maintained a complete reign of terror in the city of Naples. There was no longer a national or civic guard. The members and dependents of the Chamber of Deputies were utterly without defence; and the government hoped, that by exposing them to danger and insult, anxiety for their personal safety might cause the members to disgrace

themselves in the eyes of the people by some act of cowardice or meanness.

To effect this, every means was resorted to. Carducci, one of the deputies, was assassinated; and his murderer openly and audaciously continued to walk the streets of the city. The deputy, Mazzarotti, was attacked by an agent of the police, and with difficulty escaped with life. The journal of the reactionary party used the most menacing language against the chambers, and every time a question of any importance was to be debated, called upon the army to fall upon the assembly, and make an end of it at once.

No other political assembly was ever placed in equal danger, and none ever surpassed the Neapolitan chamber in courage, dignity, and a conscientious sense of duty. It was a noble spectacle of helpless virtue struggling with the persecutions of unprincipled power, which the parliamentary life of these rare and distinguished citizens presented during eight months.

The daily trial of their incorruptible fidelity and strength of mind presents an example which

will be immortalized in the history of their country.

Yet these are the men destined to be the victims of the inexorable persecution of the government which had awhile delayed, but never forgotten, the revenge it meditated against those who had presumed to attempt to abridge its absolute power.

But after the defeat of the Austrians at Novara, and the destruction of Italian independence, the King laid aside all pretence of moderation.

The trial of numerous persons was commenced; officers of the law were removed or superseded, who, acting honestly, did not sufficiently expedite the wishes of the government; all scrupulous judges were removed, and men put in their places who better understood the desires of the King. Novara was appointed successor to Colosimo; and under the direction of this infamous agent of arbitrary power, a prosecution was commenced, which, like a vast net, involved the whole kingdom in its meshes. By his orders of arrest, the prisons were crowded;

all previous examinations were altered or suppressed at his pleasure; and with his approbation the vilest and most false accusations were brought by low, perjured, and stipendiary informers against the most distinguished and virtuous men. The reactionary party were now free to give a loose to their vengeance; the King's oath to observe the constitution, and his promises of pardon, were equally forgotten. No longer intimidated by the free institutions whose transitory success had ended in defeat in most European countries, he appeared to have no object but the consummation of a savage vengeance, and not to desire the trial, but the ruin of innocent men, whose honest love of liberty was odious to him.

Open war was made against all persons known to hold liberal opinions. The administrators of penal justice were employed in nothing but political prosecutions; and the prisons were crowded with victims.

In the Grand Criminal Court of Naples, Italians themselves assert that the judges were a

disgrace to human nature, and profaned, by their presence, the sanctuary of the laws. Some, devoured by ambition, were not ashamed to become infamous persecutors, in obedience to the will of their superiors. Others were influenced by the fear of losing their appointments, as many had previously done, when they betrayed any scruples of conscience, and being, with a large family, reduced to poverty. Many, who saw that they must be either political persecutors or political victims, chose the former alternative, whilst they secretly deplored their weakness. A defence before such a court could never be of any avail, though the most contradictory perjuries against a prisoner were eagerly listened to.

Nothing could be more terrible than the spectacle of systematic injustice, malevolence, and passive obedience which was every day renewed.

The penal law of Naples, published in 1819, denounces an arrest by a simple agent of police, as an arbitrary arrest, for which those who commanded it, and those who executed it, are punishable, as well as the guardian of the

prison, who receives and confines a person thus arrested. The same law enjoins, that every person arrested shall, within twenty-four hours after his arrest, be placed under judicial authority, and at the disposal of competent judges.

In 1822, an era of persecution, this law was suspended, and arrests were permitted, for public security, by an order of the police, without assigning any other ground, than that the arrest was a *measure of police.* But even such prisoners could not, in Naples and its environs, be detained more than a month in prison, or two months in the provinces, without an order from the Sovereign, given through the minister of justice.

This exceptional state of the law was not prolonged beyond the year 1832, though the iniquitous practice it justified, continued to be exercised from time to time.

But when, in 1848, existing laws were found inadequate to serve the purposes of despotism, arrest, as a measure of police, again came into use, and reduced to a regular system, became,

by the unexampled frequency with which it was exercised, a terrible engine of oppression.

Every other ordinance of law was set at defiance. Men have been kept in prison for years, without examination, though the penal law, art. 101 to 109, enjoins, that they shall be immediately interrogated; all the public functionaries have become passive executors of the supreme will of their royal master, fearful of nothing but the light of truth.

Even a legal trial is a very different affair in Naples from a trial in England. It is usually preceded by successive examinations of the prisoner, which, with the testimony of the witnesses against him, is all written down, till finally, after other legal steps, which we shall not pretend to elucidate, the prisoner is finally brought up for judgment.

The special commission, which was charged with the trial of offenders, after the 15th of May, had not found that any of the deputies or ministers had given any grounds for commencing a prosecution against them. Neither did the

Criminal Court of Naples, to which the cause was transferred, after the dissolution of the commission, find it possible to found a charge against any of the leading liberals, except against the five members of the Legislative Assembly, who had formed the committee of public safety on the 15th of May.

The president, Janigro, was in consequence removed, and replaced by Colosimo; but even he did not understand, that he was expected to involve the innocent in a prosecution for high treason, and he was reproved in a ministerial letter, and ordered openly to resign his office, in favour of Signor Angelillo.

Colosimo had the weakness to obey, and Angelillo carried on the prosecution with such energy, and caused so many persons to be arrested, that he was rapidly promoted.

Navarro at length proved that he perfectly comprehended the wishes of the government, and gave the most monstrous proportions to the prosecution. The prisons were peopled by his order of arrests. Settembrini was arrested on

the 23rd of June, and Poerio on the 19th of July, 1849; the minister Antonio Scialoia on the 25th September of the same year, and Barbarisi on the 19th of October. Thirty-seven deputies were arrested, and in the act of accusation against them, it is asserted for the first time, after a lapse of three years, that these men commanded the erection of the barricades, whilst a solemn act was passed by the Chamber on the night of the 14th of May, commanding the national guard to destroy them! To give greater facility to the prosecution of these men, an institution previously abolished was revived; and a Grand Special Criminal Court was called into existence, to be presided over by Navarro; though this man might, without such a tribunal, have more rapidly executed the wishes of the government, he and his accomplices in corruption no doubt felt that they would be more secure when their acts were authorized by this resuscitated court. This was another breach of the constitution, which declares—article 83—that no extraordinary tribunal shall be created under

any pretence whatsoever. Navarro himself had voted for the suppression of a similar institution only a year before.

His next step was, to displace all magistrates from the Supreme College of Justice who were suspected of holding liberal principles, or had at any former period expressed their dislike of the Special Court. At the same time, the whole body of magistrates was intimidated. The jurisprudence of the country was changed, and a packed assembly of corrupt and servile judges was fully prepared to execute the will of a despotic sovereign.

Before such an infamous court, the most distinguished liberal members of the Chamber of Deputies were prosecuted, nearly two years after the dissolution of the chambers for high treason, as abettors of the conspiracy for the unity of Italy, and exciters of the rebellion on the 15th of May. The trial slowly dragged on its weary length, and three years after the occurrences to which it relates, the act of accusation first appeared, charging several of the deputies with

having taken part, armed, in the disturbances, and having commanded the destruction of the barricades. Not one had committed either of these crimes. They were strictly legal men, and as such became the victims of tyranny and brute force. They had at all times behaved with the greatest moderation, and their attachment to the cause of constitutional monarchy had previously often exposed them to the reproaches of men who held more democratic principles. Others of the unfortunate accused were the colleagues of the venerable Charles Troya, in the ministry of the 3rd of April, 1848, who had sacrificed everything in defence of the constitutional principle; their popularity, their reputation, and their tranquillity made them detested by the government, and all had formed part of the courageous majority of the parliament, who, to serve their country, had suppressed even their just feelings of resentment against their opponents.

It may appear unnecessary to give examples of the violation of the law, when all law has been violated, or to relate instances of perjury, where

so little truth is spoken; but the following fact is so strong an evidence of the unjust spirit in which all the political prosecutions in Naples are conducted, that we cannot forbear to relate it.

The political writer Massari was accused by the Procurator General, Angelillo, of having co-operated with word and deed, by his exhortations and by his example, at the construction of the barricades, raised at Naples in the evening of the 14th of May, 1848. Twenty witnesses, after having sworn on the holy gospel to speak the truth, and nothing but the truth, deposed that they had seen and known him in Naples, previous to the time of the disturbances, and had recognized him at the time stated, when he was assisting the construction of the barricades.

Yet not one word uttered by these numerous witnesses was true, for Massari was able to prove that he was in Milan on the 14th of May, and left it on the 15th for Genoa, where, on the 18th of the same month, being in company with Gioberti, he had received with consternation an account of the terrible events which had taken

place at Naples, on the 15th. He had passed the month of June in Rome, and first entered Naples on the 15th of July, 1848.

Such is a specimen of the solid testimony on which the Neapolitan Government brings its political opponents to trial and captivity, and frequently to the galleys!

In fact, were this injustice not attested by facts and incontrovertible evidence, it would be impossible to believe that such arbitrary persecution, in defiance of all promises, all truth and justice, of public opinion, and of every feeling of humanity or decency, could be practised with impunity for eight years, in Europe, in an age of pretended civilization and Christianity!

According to a law of Naples, the accused may offer a written defence to the court before which he is tried. Seven of these compositions have been recently published at Turin; and we find the falsity of the charges brought by the Neapolitan government against the liberal deputies fully attested by these documents, whose authority is indisputable.

The defence of Carlo Poerio lies also before us; but as the story of that unfortunate minister has been immortalized by the noble indignation of Mr. Gladstone, we shall not repeat it, but proceed to detail the sufferings of other champions of Neapolitan liberty who shared his principles and his punishment, and though less known to English readers, are not less worthy of commiseration.

Luigi Settembrini, the friend of Poerio, was also one of the accused. His defence was published in Turin, in 1850, and contains a minute account of the perjury of the witnesses brought to support the charge against him and Poerio, of belonging to the sect of the "Unity of Italy," of conspiring against the King, and intending to assassinate all their political adversaries. At different times and at different places the police had already prosecuted various persons, as belonging to this conspiracy; and as Settembrini was known as a political writer, he was also accused of being the author of a very obnoxious revolutionary proclamation. His story is a very

sad one. He was, as he says of himself, a man who had always lived amongst books, and had derived little profit from them, and much suffering.

At the age of twenty-three he was made professor of eloquence in the Lyceum of Cantanzaro. Three years and a half later, in the year 1839, he was accused, with others, of belonging to an association called "Young Italy," and was conducted to Naples, where he was thrown into prison. There he remained for twenty-six months, without other company than the consciousness of his own and his family's misfortunes. He was at last judged by a Commission of State, a tribunal whose secret decrees excited universal terror. But his innocence was recognised, and he was acquitted. Then the minister of police, who had desired his condemnation, told the King that the commission ought to have found Settembrini guilty, and that he must be sent to the galleys preparatory to a second trial. But the King decided that the judgment ought to be observed, and the acquitted sent

back into their own country. Settembrini, being a native of the city of Naples, remained there, and was released at the end of an imprisonment of three years and a half duration, fifteen months of which he had been in solitary confinement.

"I have not the courage," he says, "to recall the remembrance of what I suffered in that terrible time, because the memory of great pain is itself an agony; and I should make every one weep were I to recount the sufferings of my poor wife, who brought me a little daughter whilst I was shut up, and could neither see it nor bless it. She went through every kind of pain, and the most cruel anguish! She spoke to the judges, to the ministers, and to the King for me! She suffered more than I did, and concealed her sufferings not to aggravate mine.

"When I again returned amongst the living, I was shut out from every honourable way of gaining a livelihood. I was refused the permission to open a literary class; they wished that I should only live to suffer; and I was compelled to run from house to house, giving

lessons. I led this life till 1848, dividing my thoughts and my affections between my family and my studies, unknown to almost every one, solitary, and giving the police no cause to accuse me.

"Times changed; but I neither changed my course of life nor my desires. The King generously gave a constitution; and I rejoiced at it, because I considered that this would be a great good, both for the King and the people, since I hoped that the abuses, the injustice, and acts of arbitrary authority, which had occasioned the country so much suffering for twenty-eight years, would now have an end."

After this, Settembrini addressed a letter to the ministry, advising them to act with energy in favour of liberal measures; and this letter was probably the cause of his subsequent misfortunes. He admits, that from that time every virulent publication which appeared in Naples was, at the instigation of his enemies, attributed falsely to his pen. He knew his accusers, but does not name them. When his friend Poerio placed him

at the head of one of the departments of public instructions, he was doubtless marked out yet more decidedly as an object for future persecution.

But little accustomed to business, and convinced that, in the agitated state of affairs, and the perpetual changes in the ministry, he could be of little use, he sent in his resignation to Bozzelli, on the twenty-second of May, accompanied with a letter, in which he states his reasons for so doing, and adds, that he neither can, nor ought, nor desires to retain his office; and if he did so, he should be useless to his country, and a disgrace to himself.

He was offered a retiring pension, which he declined, as his services had been short; and he only desired payment for positive labour. He was then offered even a better place by the minister of finance, which he also refused, on the plea of ignorance.

"To a man of your talents," said the minister, "there is no difficulty. I also knew nothing about finance, and in a fortnight I have made

myself master of it." But Settembrini was less vain, and persisted in declining office. Chosen a deputy in the second chamber of 1848, he also refused to take his place as a representative of the people, and returned to his former quiét life, with his books and his pupils.

After the dissolution of the parliament, he received many warnings to seek safety in flight, as he was more detested than any of the liberals. Poerio intimated that he was involved in the accusations which the informer Jervolino was getting up against himself; but, secure in his innocence, he did not even leave the city, and was arrested on the twenty-second of June, 1849.

Amongst all the paid informers, the miserable Jervolino, the most infamous fellow in his base profession, was selected to give evidence against him. This villain was a paid servant of the police, and received twelve ducats a month, as the price of infamy. In 1844, he had accused his own father of having spoken against the government. It is needless to repeat the tissue of falsehoods which this perjured rascal swore

against Settembrini and Poerio. Suffice it to say, that the accusations, which amounted to high treason, were equally false against both these honourable men.

Whilst the Neapolitans were generally hoping vainly for an amnesty, thousands were languishing in prison, and the informers were preparing for their approaching prosecution.

"Amongst a people, for so many years, and in so many ways, corrupted," observes Settembrini, "it was not difficult to find a hundred hired informers, who, like mad dogs, flew at those who were pointed out to them, or whom they hated for some private reason. One of these fellows makes an accusation, he calls the others as witnesses, and they, with consciences equally depraved, and similar effrontery, confirm all he has said. Then they go to the families of the accused, and seek to obtain money in indirect ways; and if none is to be had, then further accusations are made. Antonio Marotta, a most shameless informer, caused his uncle, a priest of little understand-

ing, called Francesco Nardi, to be thrown into prison, as an associate of some illegal society; of which the poor man knew nothing. He then dressed himself carefully, and going into the prison with an inspector, he told his uncle that he was now a servant to a minister, and had all the riches of the world at his disposal, and that if he would confirm his testimony against others, a good chapelry would be given him. The priest did what his nephew required of him,— Signor Filippo Agresti was confined in a horrible cave excavated in the stones, dark and noxious from a cesspool belonging to the cells of other prisoners. An exile for eighteen years, he returned to Naples in February, 1848, and was arrested in March, 1849, in consequence of such infamous accusations."

"On the 12th of December," continues Settembrini, "I was conducted into the gloomy and stinking caverns of the Vicaria, where I knew that twenty-six others had been brought, and we were all thrown amongst the other tortured political prisoners, and in the midst of

robbers, forgers, and homicides. And in the prisons of the Vicaria I have known things the most terrible, which I will relate, that history may register, and the world know, in what manner such prosecutions are compiled.

"Lorenzo Vellucci, accused of having affixed a revolutionary paper to a wall during the night preceding the 16th of September, and Salvitano Faucitano, accused of having caused an explosion near the palace, when they were arrested and bound, had to suffer in an unheard-of manner. Dragged along, as a spectacle for the people, in the streets of Naples, they were beaten, kicked, and spit upon, and insulted by a set of vagabonds, led on by a well-known drunkard, who even entered into the court of the prison, and in the presence of the military, pulled out the hairs of their beards one by one, and went away in triumph with a lock of Vellucci's hair. Faucitano, weary and exhausted by torments, terrified by threats of further beatings, and even of death, being before the Inquisitor and the Prefect, and asking for a glass of

water to revive him, was given a large jug of wine, and then examined. Luciane Margherita, arrested in Siracusa, and conducted bound, and on foot, to Messina, and from thence to the Castel Dell' Ovo, where he remained three days without food, was assailed by other arts. He was promised employment and protection, or, if he refused to sign what was required, he was told that he should be thrown into the sea with a ball round his neck. Nicola Muro was kept five days with his hands bound, and only one was released, when he had to eat his bread and water. The wife of Sersuli was kept five days in secret and solitary confinement. When Errichiello was shaved, he was seated in an open place surrounded by armed soldiers, who told him they ought to shoot him; and all this was done to terrify these poor wretches to make false disclosures."

Settembrini gives many other particulars in the same style, which all tend to prove the malevolence of the prosecutors, and the falsehoods of the witnesses, who were induced by

threats or promises, to swear whatever was required of them.

The whole of the accusations against Settembrini, supported by the testimony of Jervolino and Margherita, only amounted to prove that he had belonged to a secret society, and had published a proclamation—both of which charges were utterly false. Yet Settembrini was condemned, with Poerio ; and one advocate who defended them was imprisoned, and the other was compelled to find safety in flight.

In the great prosecution got up against those who were accused of having taken part in the disturbances of the 15th of May, 1848, Antonio Scialoia is one of those implicated. He had been Minister of Agriculture, a Parliamentary Deputy, and one of the most distinguished members of the bar. In youth he had been made Professor of Political Economy in the University of Turin, and his works on that science have been translated into French, and repeatedly published in his own language. He enjoyed a distinguished reputation in the king-

dom of Sardinia, and after the liberty of the press was granted there, he found a wider field for the exercise of his abilities than was ever permitted in his native country.

At the end of the month of October, 1847, Carlo Alberto commenced the reform of the Sardinian institutions. Printing, if not completely free by law, was so in practice; and a new spirit was aroused. But the condition of Naples, instead of improving, like the rest of Italy, became worse.

Antonio Scialoia, who was devotedly attached to his country, a sincere and ardent liberal, sprung from a family which in 1799 had gloriously furnished its contingent to the place of execution, where so many illustrious victims then perished, felt deeply interested in the regeneration of Italy, and wrote much on the subject. But he was not a republican; the principles he inculcated were temperance and moderation; and whilst he advised his countrymen to follow the example of the other Italian states, and to seek the reform of abuses, he advised

them to maintain a good understanding between the governed and their governor, and to obtain liberty in alliance with their sovereign.

For such doctrines he was both reproached and ridiculed by the democratic party, but he remained firm to his principles; and, connected with the public press, he hailed with the loudest approbation the first liberal measures of the king. Like many others, he was entirely deceived, and exulted that Ferdinand had at last calmed every suspicion in the minds of his subjects. For this he was ridiculed as a courtier and a sycophant; but he was only an enthusiastic student, a class of men easily beguiled, and little calculated to play a part in the great political world, or to cope with the deceptions of experienced intriguers and cunning statesmen.

The reward he has received from the king, whom he was slandered for defending, is a dungeon, a prosecution for high treason, and menaces of a capital punishment.

He urges in his defence, after asserting his innocence of any crime, that in May, 1848, the

constitution under which he was appointed minister was still in activity, and that therefore he was only responsible to the Chambers for his political acts. He demands that, according to the seventy-fourth article of the constitution, an accusation should be brought against him by the Chamber of Deputies, as no other constituted authority has any legal right to proceed against a minister. This done, only the Chamber of Peers can try him. He asserts, that neither the government nor the magistrates had a right to imprison him, and that his arrest was illegal.

Yet, by the mere mandate of Navarro, he was arrested on the twenty-ninth of September, 1849, and had, when he thus complained, been twenty months in prison, and two months more elapsed before his appeal to his privileges as a deputy were declared void by the Grand Criminal Court, which proceeded, before long, to pass sentence on him as a traitor.

Pietro Leopardi was also arrested for high treason in the same year. He had been a deputy to parliament, and minister plenipo-

tentiary from the King of Naples to Carlo Alberto, King of Sardinia.

In 1833, he had been imprisoned by Del Carretto, but no grounds of accusation having been found against him, he was liberated, after several months' captivity. He lived afterwards for fourteen years in Paris, a banished man, and led a life of literary labour. He supported the trials and poverty of his lot with singular patience, and was high in the esteem of many eminent men, both in France and in Italy. He was decidedly adverse to the separation of Sicily from the kingdom of Naples, yet he is accused of having endeavoured to effect it. After his return to Naples, he was apparently trusted and respected by the king, who sent him ambassador to Sardinia. In parliament, after his return, his conduct was considered prudent, wise, and cautious. But he had made a most egregious mistake in presenting the following paper to the king, of which, in his defence, he gives a copy in justification of his loyalty. But it was not such loyalty that his royal master desired.

"It appears to me," he says, "that a monarchical representative government is that most suitable to the existing state of Italian civilization, chiefly because it is only princes, sincerely constitutional, who can, without dangerous foreign assistance, complete and perpetuate the great work of Italian independence."

It is probable that his regard for sincerely constitutional princes is by this time somewhat diminished.

"But to render this opinion acceptable to the majority," he continues, "it is necessary that the Italian princes should quickly perform two most important and positive duties, which the rapid development of European affairs renders almost imperative on them. They must found immediately, without any timid reservations, representative government upon the widest possible base, so that the boundaries of the constitutional edifice may embrace all the existing strength of each state in the Peninsula, leaving an opening for any new arrangement that may become necessary, from the altered circumstances

of the country. Without this provision, a great part of those who have no voice in the election, will direct their strength to assault, deface, and even destroy, the edifice of the constitution.

With the consent of the respective parliaments, not a mere miserable custom-house union must be formed throughout the Peninsula, but a noble and true Italian confederation, perennially represented by a congress of plenipotentiaries residing in Rome, whose venerable name will suffice to assure for the assembly the respect of the world. Without the last arrangement, which has not hitherto been thought of, the grave questions concerning the nationality and independence of Italy, which are the alpha and omega of the Italian movement, would remain in a state of perpetual doubt, equally injurious to the princes and the people. As soon as these two supreme and incontestable necessities are frankly satisfied, Italian Genius, peculiarly creative, released from the rusty chains which restrain her, and regarding every servile imitation of foreigners as a disgrace, will know in what

manner, under the divine influence of Catholicism, to adopt exemplary institutions from sister nations, and to place upon the revered forehead of Italian princes a wreath of immortal laurel.

"This wreath I desire for your majesty from the bottom of my soul. Such a candid expression of political faith I placed in the hands of the King."

Signor Leopardi must have little understood the character of his majesty, and had little knowledge of human nature, to suppose that an absolute monarch like Ferdinand would bestow something very much resembling universal suffrage on his people, unless compelled to do so by an armed popular force, superior in strength to his own army.

Leopardi asserts in his defence, that the accusation brought against him contains nothing punishable by the laws of Naples, and demands, as a deputy, to be tried by the Chambers, and, as an ambassador, considers that he is responsible only to his sovereign.

The man who wishes from the depths of his

Another ex-deputy, Antonio Commino, is an old man of exemplary piety and pure morals, who advocated only peace and concord; but in the articles of his religious faith there were none which sanctified perjury. He is therefore a victim of the reaction.

The poor old man passes days in his dark prison, imploring God to pardon the destroyers of himself and his country.

Luca Samuele Cagnazzi, almost ninety years of age, was also arrested, tried, and condemned.

But though it would fill volumes to recount the particulars of all the victims of Neapolitan tyranny, we cannot refrain from giving an extract from the defence, or rather memoir of Saverio Barbarisi, recently published.

It is a most remarkable document, in which this old man of seventy years of age simply relates the events of the revolution in which he had borne a part, and gives some particulars of his own captivity.

CHAPTER XI.

Barbarisi's defence—His arrest—Imprisonment in St. Elmo—Marchese Dragonetti—Tommasi—Defiance of law—Grand Criminal Special Court.

"I FEEL profoundly," writes the venerable Barbarisi, "that the misfortunes of this country have not been occasioned by popular alarms, or by the liberal party, but by the reactionary royalists.

"The latter might have put an end to terror, commotion, and licence, had they desired it, but they did not desire it. Serving the government as a commissary of police in 1848, I sent in many reports, wherein may be seen who were the authors of the evil.

"We had the best possible laws in the state, in

which we were, of a temperate monarchy; but these no longer exist since the 15th of May, 1848. These, together with the constitution, are forgotten. The police has usurped every power.

"In which of our laws is it written, that the prefect of police, the director, the commissaries and their agents, can with impunity commit personal insults—set aside all rights, and arrest, ill treat, and plunder? In what law is it written, that the sentence and decisions of the law need only be executed when it suits the wishes and convenience of the police, and that only in case of acquittal? In what law is it written, that the police may treat the prisoners at the disposition of the Grand Criminal Court with cruelty, and confine them at their pleasure in castles and in other places?"

He was arrested on the 27th of July, 1850, whilst sleeping quietly in his own house, and was conducted to the prison of Castel Capuano, another name for the Vicaria. On the 28th he was interrogated by Navarro. On the 29th he

was removed to the prison of Santa Maria Apparente, where he remained waiting his destiny, and hoping for the publication of an amnesty, which he had been previously led by the minister to suppose, would speedily be granted, as it was ready for the signature of th king.

But no amnesty appeared, and on the night of the 19th of October, he was again removed, with the Marchese Dragonetti, D. Pietro Leopardi and D. Giuseppe Pico.

The four gentlemen were escorted by the armed agents of the police, and an inspector of the guard, who refused to inform them of their destination, asserting that his orders were contained in a sealed packet, only to be opened on the way.

When they arrived at the Castle of St. Elmo, they were compelled to wait at the gate, exposed to the wind and the rain, so that poor old Barbarisi was nearly dead with the cold.

When they at length entered the castle, they found themselves in the middle of a detachment

of soldiers, which different officers were exercising.

"I could not walk," he continues, "and was with difficulty dragged along to the Esplanade of the castle by Pico and Leopardi. From thence we were conducted into a dungeon, and there they took from us what money we had—our watches—our pocket books—and even my spectacles! This was perhaps a usual form, but it produced a most extraordinary effect upon us. I was afterwards shut up with the Marchese Dragonetti, in a cell which had only one little opening in the thickness of the wall, and the Signors Pico and Leopardi were confined in another criminal's cell, which had a hole above the door opening into the dungeon. They left us a light burning in a clay pot upon the ground, and in about an hour the doors of both the cells were opened, and Swiss soldiers brought in soldiers' straw mattrasses and a can of water.

"No word was spoken, and we were again shut up. Any one who has the soul of a Christian and a feeling of humanity, can imagine what a

night we passed. This treatment, so extraordinary and so ferocious, induced us to believe, that some fatal purpose was entertained against us. Why so much rigour? What had we done? What was our fault? Of the novelty, so illegal and arbitrary, we have never known the motive. There was then no examination, and none has ever subsequently been made.

"On the morning of the 20th of October, the doors of the dungeon and of the cells were opened to clean them out.

"Like so many miserable ghosts, we demanded the support of the law for our innocence. But we could scarcely obtain permission even to remain all four together in the outer dungeon, which had no other light than that from an air-hole opening upwards towards the top of the castle wall.

"In this prison we remained fifteen days, during which we could have no communication with our friends, and everything passed to us through the hands of the commander, his officers and the sergeants of the guard.

"It was forbidden to speak to the usual attendants, and we could only make any necessary demand of an officer of the guard.

"The commander provided our food, but at our own expense, and after being fifteen days in this subterranean dungeon, we were removed to a room on the ground floor of the castle, where we remained; Pico till the 10th of November, 1849, Dragonetti and Leopardi, till the 24th of June, 1850, and I till the 14th of July of the same year. We were then all conducted to San Francesco, because Dragonetti and Leopardi were very ill, and I almost dying.

"During all the time we were in St. Elmo, I was only allowed to see my wife once at the end of eight months, for half an hour. We were kept all the time in view by various sentinels, and none of our guards durst address a word to us.

"Our washing and what else there was, came to us through the hands of the commander, and they arrived at last at the barbarity of dictating the letters which we had to write to our relatives. Thus, or not at all.

"To give a stronger idea of this state of op-

pression, I must relate, that twice a week, a barber came to shave our beards, who served the major of the castle. When he came, the doors were opened, and an officer of the guard seated himself in our room without uttering a word. Three keepers placed themselves on the threshold, with the sentinel who was always there, and a Swiss sergeant was planted in front of the barber. This vigilance was so melancholy, that fearing equally to compromise the barber and ourselves, we kept our eyes shut whilst he shaved us.

" After some time, we obtained permission to breathe the open air during some hours of the day, and a place was appointed for us to walk in. But besides the two sentinels, whom we always had at our door, and at the iron grated window of our chamber, seven others were placed where we walked. No one was allowed to meet us or pass along the place where we walked.

" What rigour? and wherefore?

" St. Elmo is an exceedingly damp place, and the room in which we were confined had an insupportably noxious smell.

"The winter of 1849 and the spring of 1850 were extraordinarily severe seasons.* I suffered more than the others, and I have almost lost my hearing, and the few teeth I had left. At the age of seventy, my illegal detention in St. Elmo was enough to kill me, and it is only my trust in God which keeps me yet alive.

"But am I what I was?

"My days have been shortened; and whilst the police diverted itself by ill-using us, what care did you extend to us, Signor Procurator General, and you, Signor President? Yet are not you the guardians of the laws? and is it not your duty to enforce their execution?

"I complain, and with reason, for I desire that this iniquitous work should be known to the whole world, and bring shame on those who merit it. I have a right to consider myself unfortunate, when at my age, as a reward for the sacrifices I have made for my country, I

* In Naples the cold is frequently intense, and no doubt their room was without a fire, and with an open grated window.

have been imprisoned for two years, and am tried for high treason."

He then proceeds to state several circumstances in proof of his innocence, and thus concludes.

"I call in my defence, and as testimony of my loyal actions and honourable conduct, free from all interested motives, the Prefect Cacace, and the first gentlemen of the capital. I call upon the Minister Longobardi, the Ex-minister Gigli, and all the heads of the different sections of the home and legal departments, and if it were possible, and allowable to suppose, that a king would give testimony, I would not hesitate to invoke the evidence of Ferdinand II. himself."

But all testimony would have been in vain. No doubt the fate of this venerable man was decided even before his arrest; and he whom the king had called his old friend, and treated with marks of regard, after the acts which were on his trial imputed to him as high treason,

was destined to pass his last years in chains and captivity!

The Marchese Dragonetti, who was for a time the companion of Barbarisi's captivity, had previously been Minister for Foreign Affairs, Deputy, and Superintendent of the Archives of the kingdom. His birth was distinguished, his virtue and learning had obtained him the respect of his countrymen, and his devotion to a constitutional monarchy was undoubted. We know that he was in prison for more than two years without a trial, or anything being said about one; and in all probability, this violation of all law has been prolonged to the present day. Two of his sons are in exile; his daughter and two other sons died of grief, in consequence of their father's misfortunes.

A Committee for the Reform of the Educational System had been formed during the brief existence of the Constitution and the absence of the Jesuits, and the members of this establishment were not less persecuted than the unfortunate deputies. One of these gentlemen,

who had also been a national guard, in the year 1848, after the re-establishment of the king's supremacy, took refuge in Calabria, where he remained for some time concealed. But he did not thus escape the grasp of power, and he soon learnt with consternation, that his father and brother had been arrested, in order to discover his hiding-place. Distressed that his relatives should suffer on his account, he immediately surrendered himself. Without further inquiry, he was at once thrown into a solitary dungeon in the Castel Dell 'Ovo, beneath the level of the sea, the Swiss soldiers who arrested him having robbed him of his watch and his purse. But though he thus voluntarily delivered himself into the hands of his persecutors, his father and brother were not released, and were afterwards detained nearly two years in prison. He himself was kept in solitary captivity for three years, without ever being brought before a judge, or any sort of inquiry being made as to his previous conduct; and for the first six months

he was not even allowed a book to beguile the tedium of his solitary captivity.

But, strange to say, at the termination of three years, he received a passport and an intimation, that the king having heard of his desire to emigrate to America, had graciously granted him the permission to do so. He never had expressed any wish of the kind.

He was then conducted on board a government vessel, without being permitted to give any intimation of his departure to his relatives, or to hold any communication with any one, before he quitted the shores of his native land. He has since written to his relations, but has received no tidings in return.

The youngest son of the Baron Vercillo, when scarcely sixteen years of age, and the Baron Riso of Calabria, are both in the Castel Dell' Ovo, without being permitted to hold communication with their families, or the lawyers who have undertaken to defend their cause. But there is, in truth, little benefit to be expected from such assistance, when the govern-

ment of Naples no longer even pretends to veil its proceedings by a legal form, but acts in all things with open arbitrary violence.

In the same manner, Salvatore Tommasi, a professor in the Royal University, was dismissed from his post without any reason being assigned, then imprisoned, then liberated, and then imprisoned again.

It is a law of Naples, that the accused may object to a judge, whenever he believes that the judge is possibly influenced by corruption, or other motives, to pervert justice to his injury; but this law also has been set aside, and the advocates who have dared to invoke it for the benefit of their clients, have been rewarded with imprisonment. And when we talk of prisons, no one must suppose that a Neapolitan prison resembles an English one, where even the worst criminals have cleanliness and air, and decent food. On the contrary, they are frequently damp and dark dungeons in the castles of the middle ages, where, far below the level of the sea, the air is noxious and impure; or at best,

bare humid chambers, whose open grated windows admit the air alike in winter and in summer, where the prisoners, with no covering but the prison dress, are left to drag on life in sickness and in health, with only a miserable straw mattress, covered with vermin, to repose on, and with fare so coarse and scanty, that it seems wonderful that life can be prolonged, amidst such complicated misery, by men who have been previously accustomed to all the comforts, and even luxuries, which belong to the higher classes society.

Such is the treatment of prisoners before condemnation, and when no pretence of legal forms has been gone through; but afterwards, the common punishment is twenty-four years of chains and galley slavery; in which state of suffering the noblest, most learned, and virtuous men that Italy has ever produced, are compelled to drag on existence in the company of the vilest criminals, and are sometimes bound continually to some vulgar culprit by a heavy chain only six feet in length.

But the government has also found other ways of exercising its vengeance on innocent men. It has sequestered the property of many proprietors whom it affected to suspect; and whilst sacrificing thousands to suppress liberty, exercises communism to a great extent, in order to impoverish and ruin its adversaries.

The ex-deputy, Giuseppe Pisanelli, a man remarkable for his learning, his benevolence, and the purity of his life, has been despoiled, like many others, of the whole of his property, and entirely deprived of the means of subsistence. His mother, to supply their joint necessities, sold an estate, belonging to herself, for the sum of two thousand ducats; but when the police became aware of this transaction, she was not permitted to receive the stipulated sum; and the police compelled the purchaser to deduct four hundred ducats from it, and pay it into the sinking fund, before he paid her the remainder.

Many persons, declared innocent by the judges, or ordered to be set provisionally at liberty, on bail, have been still kept in captivity. Amongst

others, the ex-deputy, Grannattasio, was ordered to be released, on a bail of one thousand ducats, and a wine merchant, named Russo, on a bail of five hundred ducats. The bails were both paid; the government received the money; and yet both of these men continued prisoners. Signor Cammarota, condemned to be imprisoned a year, for contempt of the armed force, suffered this punishment, but was not liberated at the end of the term. A second accusation was brought against him, of having joined in seditious cries against the Jesuits. The court found him innocent, but he was not released from captivity.

Thirty-two persons, accused of being implicated in the affair of the twenty-ninth of January, and of having demanded the constitution of that day, were absolved in June, 1851, before the courts of justice were entirely submissive to the dictates of the government; but at the end of that year they were still in prison.

Whilst all these poor sufferers, and many others, were languishing in captivity, the Grand

Criminal Special Court, called into existence by the command of the King, assembled in Naples. The court itself has been pronounced illegal by all the great jurists of Italy; and the name of Navarro, who presided over it, has been justly branded by Mr. Gladstone, with eternal infamy.

Under his direction, it was decided, on the sixteenth of July, 1851, that the testimony produced in their defence by Leopardi, Barbarisi, and the whole of the thirty-seven men included in the prosecution for the fifteenth of May, should be rejected, and that the accused should be proceeded against as guilty.

In fact, since the time when the trial had first commenced, in 1848, the whole accusation had been entirely changed by Navarro, so as to leave none of the accused a chance of escape: and of the five judges who first voted, three had been removed, and replaced by others more servile. The two who remained, Angelillo and Lastaria, had been rewarded for their docility to the wishes of the government,—the one by the appointment of Procurator-general, and the other

by being retained in office, although his dismissal had been previously signed and sealed by the King.

On the fifth of August, 1851, the same Grand Criminal Court decided that forty-six other men, included in the prosecution, should receive sentence; and on the following day, a list of the patriots was affixed to the walls of the Vicaria, as guilty, by their absence, of contempt of court.

Many of these persecuted men had happily escaped to foreign countries; and amongst others, the advocate Pasquale Stanislao Mancini, who had been guilty of no other crime but that of defending political prisoners.

"It is needless to say," he himself writes, "that, as an advocate, I considered it my duty not to refuse the task of defending, and uttering a faithful and independent word for the numerous innocent, and almost always distinguished men, accused by calumnies the most notorious and badly put together, who had recourse to my assistance.

"I combated ten months, for me most long and full of anguish, with those disgracers of humanity who, in the bosom of the Grand Criminal Court of Naples, have contaminated the toga of the magistracy, and profaned, by their presence, the sanctuary of the laws. Human degradation had never displayed itself to my eyes more naked and deformed. The labours of myself and some of my most courageous companions in the court frequently failed therefore to save the innocent.

"The spectacle of systematic injustice, of passive obedience, of evil doing for ignoble passions knowingly committed and every day renewed, wounded my heart so deeply that I have never passed, and never shall pass, so long as I remain in this world, a similar period of pain and suffering, and insupportable moral agony. So that I sometimes bless my exile; for if I had continued in such a state of existence, I should have finished by losing my faith in the Divinity, my reason, or my life.

"Nevertheless, the courageous expression of

castle, and the prisons where they were dearly paying for their virtue; and I followed wit painful anxiety all the proceedings of the persecution without a name, which was heaped upon their head, till finally I saw them accused (and I with them) as authors of the excesses on that unforunate day, when they, in my company vainly inspired by their love for their country, had done as much as was in human power, to hinder and to dissuade from them.

" I confess that my bad opinion of the Neapolitan government has even been surpassed by this excess of impudent audacity.

" It probably flatters itself that the melancholy lot of an immense majority of the Neapolitan chamber of deputies, who offer such a miserable spectacle, languishing in horrible prisons, and in the galleys, confused with robbers and assassins, or wander in painful exile from their country, will suffice to cause all those who do not clearly perceive the true cause of the disasters of that luckless day, to attribute them to the chamber itself, and to its excitations.

"Against this supposition, contradictory confessions have already been pronounced by the government itself, in its proclamation, on the day following the catastrophe, in the re-election of the same deputies—and in the long and profound silence of the government, during a year and a half—the entire compilation of the trial executed at that period, in which there is clear and consecutive proof that the Chamber had, with prudent foresight, done everything in its power to prevent a conflict destructive of liberty. Nor can the government now say in its defence that it has even respected appearances, since it is plain that it wishes to make the fulfilment of their sacred duty a crime in faithful defenders of their clients; Giacomo Tofano, (already named by the king in 1848 director-general of the police of the kingdom, and counsellor of the Court of Cassation,) who had returned to private life and his forensic labours, in consequence of his having defended his friend.

"Carlo Poerio has been torn from a large and necessitous family, and thrown into prison, where

for almost two years (this was written by Mancini in 1851), he supports the punishment of his honesty and firmness; an example and a menace to whoever may feel impelled to imitate him."

The prosecution called that of the fifth of September is a worthy continuation of the series of judicial assassinations commenced with that of those accused of conspiring for the unity of Italy, one of whom was Poerio, and finishing when it shall please God to put an end to so much wickedness. The facts of it are as follow.

On the fifth of September, 1848, after the first prorogation of the legislative session, a dirty and ragged crowd, composed of lazzaroni, low women, spies, and the very dregs of the people, assembled in front of the palace, and preceded by a white flag, passed along the streets of the Toledo, crying, "Long live the king! down with the constitution! and death to the nation."

The troops were under arms, but they did not attempt to disperse the mob, nor offer any oppo-

sition to their proceedings, although the constitution was still the fundamental law of the land, and the tricoloured flag was the legal national standard.

But when this mob arrived in the vicinity of Montecalvario, the populace who inhabit this section of the city began to cry in opposition, "Long live the king! long live the constitution!" and without injuring any one, they put the rabble to flight.

Then, and not till then, the public force interfered, as every one supposed, to defend the laws, to repress anarchy, and to maintain legal order; that is, the constitution. But such a supposition, though reasonable in any other country, would be absurd in Naples. It is true, the troops came, but they came to charge and fire upon the populace of Montecalvario, who, in the name of the king and the constitution, had repulsed a violent and illegal tumult, had given a splendid proof of their devotion to the throne, to the law, and to public order.

In other quarters of the city similar circum-

stances occurred, and the conduct of the military was there, as at Montecalvario, favourable to the rabble, who, without any provocation, had excited disorder and tumult in the city, to the terror and consternation of its innocent and peaceable inhabitants.

From this time the lazzaroni of St. Lucia, who had been the originators of this tumult, and who always took an active part in all disturbances in favour of the royalists, were treated with the greatest kindness and favour by the king, and the people, who opposed their violence in defence of the laws, were persecuted and imprisoned.

The police used every artifice to turn this incarceration of some of the lower orders to their profit, and the means which they devised to effect the ruin of those against whom their persecutions were directed, are really extraordinary for their variety and cold-blooded malignity.

In the month of December, 1850, some of the abject servants of the police succeeded in corrupting and winning over to their purpose,

probably by bribes, one of these low men, named Guiseppe d'Alessandro, *alias* Aversano. The task assigned him was to excite his comrades, all poor men, against those of nobler rank, who were confined in the same prison. Nor was he long in fulfilling the wishes of his villanous instigators. Taking advantage of a temporary fit of ill-humour, excited amongst his companions in captivity by an order communicated by the inspector of the prison police, that they might cook their victuals in the corridor of the prison, he went about suggesting to them that the inspector had only made this arrangement out of consideration for the gentlemen there (or galantuomi, as the Neapolitans call their rich citizens and patricians), and then added, "we are suffering for a cause by which we can gain nothing; the gentlemen make use of us to sacrifice us to their ambitious projects. It is time to finish with them, and it is the king who has always been the protector of the people."

Aversano concluded his harangue by exciting

his companions to rid themselves of these gentlemen, and cry, "Long live the king!"

This makes it perfectly evident that it was the purpose of the Neapolitan government to make in this prison an experiment in imitation of the murder of the landed proprietors in Galizia—a massacre of Tarnow, in the prisons.

Nor are there wanting many other examples to prove that it is the object of a certain reactionary party in Europe to crush the enlightened, civilized, and independent middle classes, between the powerful oppression of the high aristocracy and the brute force of the uncultivated and half-savage mob.

They have already learnt to make use of universal suffrage, they endeavour to promote corruption amongst the people, and their opinions will generally be found to be equally advocated by ultra-royalists and extreme demagogues. All parties are indifferent to those who have no other object but power.

But the good, though humble citizens of Naples, who expiated in captivity the crime of

having counteracted, on the fifth of September, the plot of the reactionists, did not forget, a few months later, the holy cause for which they had suffered so much. They answered to the provocations of Aversano by cries of "Long live the king and the constitution!" and the murderous purposes of their tempters were frustrated.

A committee, composed of three commissaries of police, met on the following day, and rewarded the honesty of these poor fellows by condemning five of them to suffer the ignominious punishment of a hundred blows with a cudgel.

The same punishment was also inflicted on a youth of gentle birth, named De Panfilis, who at the twenty-fifth blow fainted from agony.

Two days afterwards, these unfortunate sufferers, still bruised and bleeding, were carried from Naples to Avelina, a distance of thirty Neapolitan miles; and with difficulty obtained permission to hire a carriage to convey them at their own expense to their new prison.

After so many sufferings, they were first pub-

licly accused on the 4th of August, 1851, of having conspired to change the form of the Neapolitan government, on September 5, 1848.

Sentence was pronounced on the 26th of August. One of the accused was condemned to twenty-five years in chains! seven of them to twenty-four years, nine to twenty years, seven to nineteen years, and one to seven years! For the rest of the accused, the Procurator General demanded liberty on bail; but the Grand Criminal Court, over which Navarro presided, surpassing the severity even of the public accuser, decided that they must remain in prison, and further examinations must be made; yet they had already been three years in prison. Only two of the accused were released, and a young man of twenty years of age, who was obliged to pay a fine of a hundred ducats.

In the public trial, nine witnesses supported the charges against the accused, but they admitted that they had forgotten their former written testimony, which had been taken down in writing on a previous examination. But Navarro

and his colleague assisted their memory by reading it over to them, when they answered, "Yes, Sir," to everything.

The parties for the defence objected to such a method of proceeding, but vainly sought redress by appealing to the laws. Two of these witnesses were low servants of the police. One of them, called Palliotti, had induced two boys of fifteen to make a deposition similar to his own. The boys confessed this in the court. The President Navarro was furious at such an unexpected revelation; and when they persisted in asserting the truth of what they had disclosed, he ordered them to be placed in solitary confinement, in the Vicaria. Brought again before the court, after a lapse of two days, they would not retract their words, and were consequently again sent to prison for eight days.

Raffaele Valerio was also accused of participating in the disturbances of the fifth of September; but it was proved that he was then in prison.

"You must mistake," said Navarro, to the witness; "you probably meant to speak of Pasquale Valerio?"

To this the man replied, "Yes, Sir."

The defence protested against this new and flagrant illegality; but, as usual, in vain. The Grand Court ordered Pasquale Valerio to stand up, and the witness was then asked if this was not the man he meant to speak of?

The advocates violently opposed such a demand; but Navarro did not allow any mention to be made of their opposition in the notes of the trial.

"When a magistrate commands," he said, with an angry and menacing countenance, "he must be obeyed."

The advocates had the courage to reply, "The magistrates cannot, and ought not, to command anything which is contrary to the laws."

Nevertheless, Pasquale Valerio was ordered to stand up; the false testimony protested that he was the man of whom they meant to speak, and the unfortunate victim was condemned to twenty-four years in chains. Navarro and another judge voted for death!

All these unfortunate men listened with com-

posure and dignity to their sentence, which was pronounced on the 26th of August, 1851.

They afterwards hastened to make for themselves what is called *the toilet* of the galleys, by shaving their own beards and hair.

An inspector of police asked, why they considered this of so much importance; one of the gentlemen replied, that they did it themselves, to avoid its being done by one of the low police, whose hands were not worthy to touch the heads of men condemned for political reasons, who must show themselves worthy of the cause for which they suffered.

On the 2nd of September, the condemned prisoners, clothed in the dress of robbers and murderers, were transferred to the fort Del Carmine, there to be bound with irons. They were escorted by a strong detachment of cavalry, of Swiss soldiers, and a crowd of the low agents of the police!

Another of these prosecutions with which the Grand Criminal Court was also occupied, was

called that of the Military Carbonari and Assassins!

The police have a wonderful imagination in inventing plots and conspiracies. Fourteen individuals were accused of belonging to this imaginary sect! they were accused of having offered the sum of eight hundred ducats to a sergeant of the troops of the line, to induce him to make over to them sixteen of the cannon of the royal fortress of Granatello, which is defended by a strong garrison, and of having had false keys made of the outer gates of the Castle of St. Elmo, so as to be able to enter and take possession of it.

The Marquis of Tagliava was amongst the persons accused of belonging to this sect, and was subjected to indescribable tortures, until he consented to sign a paper, in which he not only was required to confess his own guilt, but to accuse Sir William Temple, the English Ambassador at the Court of Naples, and Count Collobiano, Minister Plenipotentiary from the Court

of Sardinia, of belonging to the sect of assassins!

On the evening of the 15th of May, 1848, some inhabitants of the city of Aversa had wished to set the telegraph in motion, and demanded the keys of the keeper; when he refused to give them up, the soldiers came to their assistance, and they accomplished their purpose, probably by force, though no one was injured. This simple affair, a momentary excitement in a time of revolution, has given occasion for a prosecution, in which numbers were involved, who have for years languished in captivity.

All the criminal courts of the different provinces of the kingdom, no longer engaged by the punishment of robbers and assassins, devote themselves entirely to the prosecution of political offenders.

The affair of the 15th of May, 1848, in 1851 still occupied the Criminal Court of Salerno, of Trani, of Santa Maria de Capua, of Aquila, and many others.

The court of Santa Maria de Capua has

condemned seven persons to chains, who were accused, like Poerio, of belonging to the sect of the Unity of Italy; that of Trani, thirteen other individuals to a similar punishment, for forming a committee of safety in Molfetta, after the events of the 15th of May, 1848, in order to defend the constitution and the public tranquillity.

A similar trial was carried on at Potenza, where the venerable archbishop of the diocese, and the ex-intendant of the province, were amongst the accused.

A young man named Rodolfa Mazzei died in 1851, in the castle of Cosenza, in Calabria, where he had been imprisoned for several years, in consequence of political accusations. He died in fact, from the physical sufferings and tortures of every kind to which he had been subjected by his brutal persecutors.

His friends, wishing to give a sorrowful, but simple testimony of respect to his memory, accompanied his body to the grave. This pious and innocent act was no sooner known to the

intendant of the province, than he ordered all those who had been present at the funeral of their friend, to be immediately thrown into prison.

At Bojano, in the province of Campobasso, on the death of Niccolo Tiberio, an ex-commander of the national guard, his acquaintance followed his coffin to the cemetery, where he was interred. Two informers, one of whom was a magistrate in the town, represented this melancholy ceremony to the government, as a conspiracy against the security of the state, and twenty persons were arrested in consequence, whilst others only found safety in flight.

In the autumn of 1851, two rich proprietors of the province of Basilicata were returning tranquilly from Naples to their own house. They had not far passed Salerno, when their carriage was suddenly surrounded by a troop of agents of the police, who immediately ransacked their baggage.

All which these harpies could discover was several friendly letters, the examination of the

ex-deputy Barbarisi, and the sum of seven hundred ducats in gold. The papers and the money were sequestered as criminal objects. The gentlemen were then bound, manacled, and reconducted as prisoners to Naples, where they were thrown into the caverns of the Castel dell'Ovo, and there confined, beneath the level of the sea, and cut off from all communication with any human being, without their families knowing whether they are living or dead.

The following day, nine orders of prosecution and arrest arrived at Basilicata. The prisons were crowded with new victims, the whole province was thrown into terror and consternation; and though it has not officially been declared in a state of siege, it was actually in that terrible position, and the arbitrary will of the creatures of the government was the sole law. Even the wrath of heaven could not arrest the fury of persecution. A tremendous earthquake spread ruin and desolation in Melfi and all the country for many miles around; but the government agents instead of thinking of

assisting the sufferers from this calamity, thought of nothing but preventing the escape of any of the political prisoners, in consequence of the catastrophe, by which even the prisons were thrown down.

In Melfi, for example, three of these unfortunate victims of tyranny were buried in the ruins of their gaol; but when they were disinterred, it was no sooner discovered that they were still alive, than they were immediately sent off to the prison of Potenza! No language can sufficiently express the enormity of such a deed; yet I have simply repeated it from the words of Massari, and leave it without a comment.

The Neapolitan government is the only Catholic government in Europe which openly espoused the cause of Russia in the dispute concerning the holy places in Asia Minor, and yet Cardinal Antonelli has praised it as a type of orthodoxy.

We will relate a story which places its devotion to the Roman Catholic Church in a curious point of view.

In the summer of 1851, the Archdeacon Musitano di Stilo was in prison, as usual, on political charges. He was a man beloved and venerated for his evangelical virtues by the whole population of his district. He died in prison, and all the other priests who were the companions of his captivity, wished, at their own cost, to celebrate his obsequies with due solemnity, and for this purpose placed his corpse, arrayed in his priestly garments, as is the custom in the kingdom of Naples, upon an open bier.

No sooner was this known to Signor Morelli, the Procurator General at the Criminal Court of the place where it happened, than he gave orders that the dead body of the archdeacon should be despoiled of its sacred garments; in obedience to his further commands, it was then dressed in the shirt and trowsers usually worn by malefactors, rolled in a dirty sheet, and conveyed to the grave in the car used to carry the bodies of assassins!

The next day, a worthy priest went to the

Campo Santo, or burying ground, and in the adjoining chapel celebrated a requiem for the soul of the dead. This pious priest was immediately arrested, and sent to fill the void which Musitano had left in the prison.

So that it appears that even to pray for the repose of the dead is a crime in the eyes of the Neapolitan government; and this fact occurred in close proximity to the Roman States, and to the city of Pius IX., whom Ferdinand professes to venerate.

Yet only a short time ago, the clergy had the privilege, in the kingdom of Naples, of only being subjected to punishment by order of a council of bishops, though now they are continually condemned by the common civil courts of law, and daily incarcerated, without any trial or condemnation at all, by the mere arbitrary authority of the police.

Nothing is held sacred, nothing is allowed to be an obstacle to the attainment of supreme power, by those who influence the mind of

Ferdinand, to pursue his present system of tyranny.

Even the laws which Dell Carretto formerly respected, have ceased to be observed. The legal forms at first maintained to give a kind of sanction to injustice, are finally disregarded, and Ferdinand and his police are absolute.

Since 1848 the conduct of the government can only be regarded as an ignoble and atrocious vengeance, by which it has been the purpose of the king and his advisers to destroy all those even suspected of holding liberal opinions, and utterly to arrest the progress of civilization, and the hope of freedom in the south of Italy, by open, arbitrary violence.

Gradually, since 1848, this purpose has been more fully developed; till now the prisons are actually crowded with captives. There are five hundred and thirty prisons in the kingdom, and these now contain two-thirds more than their ordinary number. Though a great mystery is thrown over the horrors of persecution, and it is impossible to obtain any exact information as to

the positive number of prisoners; it is supposed at present to exceed the estimation made by Mr. Gladstone, when he stated that they amounted to between twenty and thirty thousand!

The number of exiles has never been calculated, but it must be immense; and who can count the thousands of relations and dependents who were supported by the labour of the men whose captivity is their ruin! It may well be supposed, that for every innocent man it imprisons, the government makes ten enemies, not to speak of the public and national indignation, which, though repressed, is not less deeply felt.

The government, therefore, gains nothing by its arbitrary rule. Thousands of its subjects are daily alienated from its cause; nearly all the secular clergy are liberal, except the bishops. Many of the monks, particularly the Dominicans, are now also on the popular side, though the Jesuits, who have education entirely in their hands, of course adhere to the king. Even the lower orders are becoming more enlightened as

to their true interest, and are anxious to drop the odious name of lazzaroni.

The written defences presented by Leopardi, Pica, Scialoia, Jacovelli, Barbarisi, and three others of the ex-deputies, have been published at Turin by Massari.

It is most inexpressibly painful to read these memorials, written in prison by these unfortunate men. It is heart-rending to feel how useless is the pains they take to prove themselves moderate politicians, and honest men, most faithful to the constitution, when we know that such fidelity is the only crime of which they can be guilty in the eyes of their accusers. Legal proofs they bring forward in abundance, to show the flagrant injustice of their prosecution; but we know, whilst perusing these touching compositions, that neither law nor innocence will avail them anything with their infamous judges, who, before they entered the Criminal Court, had resolved to listen to no evidence in favour of men whom it was their

interest, as it was the purpose of the king, to enslave, or incarcerate for life.

Ever since the government of Naples has established its present absolute dominions, and Austria has been triumphant in the north of Italy; it has waged an incessant, though undeclared war against the liberal kingdom of Sardinia. It detests it for several reasons; first, because it endangers the dominion of Austria in Lombardy, on the maintenance of which the existence of the throne of Ferdinand depends; secondly, because it disputes its own supremacy in the peninsula, and lastly, because, though still strictly Catholic, it has thrown off the dominion of the Jesuits, and their despotic principles, and by the contrast of the prosperity attending its own moderate and legal rule, renders more odious the spectacle of the horrible persecutions and merciless absolutism with which the other states of Italy are crushed down into slavery.

When the Sardinian ambassador was on his way to Turkey, he was not permitted to pass even a few hours in Naples, being denounced as

a man dangerous to the public peace, and an encourager of revolutions.

Neither can there be any doubt that Ferdinand and his party are hostile to the nationality of Italy; for the association called the Unity of Italy, whether it really existed, or was an imagination of the police, has afforded an excuse for many prosecutions, of which Poerio and Settembrini were the first victims.

Naples, is in fact, the enemy of every free nation, more especially of England; Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone are naturally detested by the predominant party, since they have dared to expose the illegal atrocities which it has committed, and to remonstrate with the government on its assumption of despotism. But in an equal degree, they are regarded with admiration and gratitude by all of the liberal party who are aware of the strong opinions they have expressed in their behalf, and they protest that it shall never be forgotten, that Englishmen were the first to relate the sufferings of Naples to the world; and whilst all Europe and even the

other states of Italy, were indifferent to the persecutions, the heroic innocence, and the noble constancy of the defenders of Neapolitan liberty, they broke the scandalous silence, and raised their voice against the barbarous tyranny which stained the history of the nineteenth century with the horrors of the middle ages.

Though the Neapolitan government, it is said, will never pardon the letter of Lord Palmerston to the Prince Castelcicala, the Neapolitan ambassador in London, yet all who suffer under its tyranny, heard with delight that England had spontaneously given a moral support to the cause of the unfortunate martyrs who, in defence of a constitutional form of government, were sacrificed to prolong the absolute authority of a man who has proved himself devoid of every human virtue.

Yet the last accounts from Naples inform us, that the liberal party there, and in fact all who are impatient of the existing tyranny, are well aware that the complications of European politics will prevent the English government giving

them any positive assistance at present. They know also, that the pretended remonstrances which have been addressed by Austria, are rather warnings to him, for his own safety, to act with more moderation, than any expression of sympathy for the subjects whom he oppresess; for Austria can never with sincerity interfere, to arrest the full development of the despotic principles, both in church and state, which it supports and practises, to the greatest possible extent, in its own dominions.

All enlightened Neapolitans have resolved, if possible, to prevent an immature popular outbreak, and to wait the progress of events. But great excitement prevails. Even the mob, which has hitherto always supported their kings against the educated classes in every revolution, begins probably now to discover, that by the ruin of those who stand between the lazzaroni and the throne, they cut off their own means of existence, for which their beloved Ferdinand can offer them no equivalent

When the confidence of society is destroyed,

when pleasure, and trade, the exercise of the learned professions, and the influx of strangers, are all interrupted by a reign of terror, the circulation of money is arrested, and labour finds few employers. Then at last the half savage mob, who envied the middle classes, and relied on the beneficence of an absolute king, to provide for their support and their amusements, discover, when pressed by hunger, and without employment, that though the despotic will of one man, illegally exercised, has power to inflict unbounded misfortunes, on all under his dominion, it has neither the inclination, nor the power, to secure prosperity to any of his subjects, except to a few abject sycophants who surround the throne, and for their own interest, encourage him by flattery to persevere in the evil course he has so long pursued.

The city of Naples may, at this time, be said to be divided into two hostile camps. All the inhabitants of the hilly part of the city are liberals and constitutionalists, whilst most of those between the hills and the sea remain

faithful to the king. These people have perpetual skirmishes with each other, and discontent daily gains ground.

All the principal forts in Naples are now garrisoned by the Swiss regiments, whom the people and the army equally detest.

The Neapolitan soldiers are not to be depended on by the government, and discontent gains ground in their ranks; for they have long been shamefully oppressed and plundered by their officers, who, it was well known, even years ago, divided such miserable peculations with the king, and were in consequence allowed to continue them with impunity.

There have recently been mutinies in several regiments, and it is reported that several officers were shot; but such events are so studiously concealed, that it is impossible to arrive at any certainty as to individual cases.

But both private and public information agree that the Neapolitans are becoming indignant against their oppressors, and, recovering from the consternation which followed their defeat,

could with difficulty be kept tranquil, even by the advice of their leaders, were it not for the Swiss troops in the pay of the king. But, if the army declares for the liberal cause, as it did in 1820, the people will no doubt immediately join them, and make one more desperate struggle for the liberty which recent persecutions have taught them more than ever to desire.

And this must happen before long; and though England may think it expedient to refrain from interfering in the struggle between Ferdinand and his subjects, it will be her duty to prevent others from doing so.

No European power interfered to impose a foreign will upon France in the recent revolutions there, and no Austrian army must be again permitted to march into Naples, to replace a king upon a throne which he has forfeited by his perjury and his crimes; nor must a second congress, like that of Laybach, announce that it is the pleasure of the royal allies that the dynasty of Bourbon shall resume the privilege of imprison-

ing, persecuting, and torturing the inhabitants of the kingdom of Naples, as it shall see fit.

If this oppressed people is once triumphant over the royalist party, they must be left free to settle their own affairs. No one has interfered to defend their liberties against the king; no one, therefore, has a right to defend the king's authority against the people.

They offered to let him reign with a constitution, but he rejected the compromise;—if, therefore, the people of Naples establish a constitution without a king, no European power can justly object; and most decidedly, whatever professions may be made by Ferdinand in moments of difficulty or danger, he can never again be trusted.

After a close examination of the recent Italian accounts of the events in Naples in 1848, and the defences, written by some of the unfortunate Liberals themselves whilst in captivity, and addressed, as we have previously stated, to the Grand Criminal Court of Naples, it appears to

us (though we are no admirers of unnecessary violence) that there was a want of energy, decision, and prompt activity on the part of the leaders of the party, which sufficiently accounts for the failure of their attempt to restrain the power of the sovereign, and establish a liberal, constitutional, and responsible representative government.

No revolution ever yet succeeded, which left an absolute king upon the throne of his fathers after he was shorn of his authority; and it was especially unwise to expect that Ferdinand should keep the faith which his father had formerly broken, when he was still allowed to retain an army of foreign mercenaries under his command, who were ready at any moment, as a part of discipline, to massacre his subjects at his pleasure.

The Chambers were professedly defended by the National Guard; but the National Guard was an undisciplined force, totally inadequate to resist the royal troops. The first object of the Liberals

ought to have been, to convert it into a popular army, capable of protecting the deliberations of the people's representatives, and enforcing the reforms they decreed.

Had there been one man of military genius in the party, this would have been done; the national army would then speedily have made common cause with the popular guards, and the Chamber of Deputies, with an imposing force at their disposal, might have commanded the dismissal of the Swiss troops from the kingdom, and enforced the execution of the laws.

Then, and then only, would there have existed a chance of maintaining the newly-proclaimed constitution.

The various revolutions of 1848 have sufficiently proved to the world, that the absolute power of ancient dynasties is not to be permanently subverted by talking and persuasion. But, though moderate men are wisely averse to violence, they must, to ensure success, possess

the means of resisting it when unjustly excited against them.

It is an old axiom of Machiavelli's, that if we wish to secure peace, we must be prepared for war. And certainly it could never be applied with more truth than to the position of the Liberal party in Naples in 1848.

But if they committed an error, it was the error of just and honest men, and has been fearfully expiated.

Even before the publication of this work, it is not impossible that their sufferings may be avenged, by a popular revolution in Naples Should this event ever take place, it is to be hoped that its results may be happier and more permanent than that of 1848.

We have only one fact to add, as the conclusion of our work, from which let each man draw what inference he may. The political executions in the different states of Italy, since the year 1848, have recently been summed